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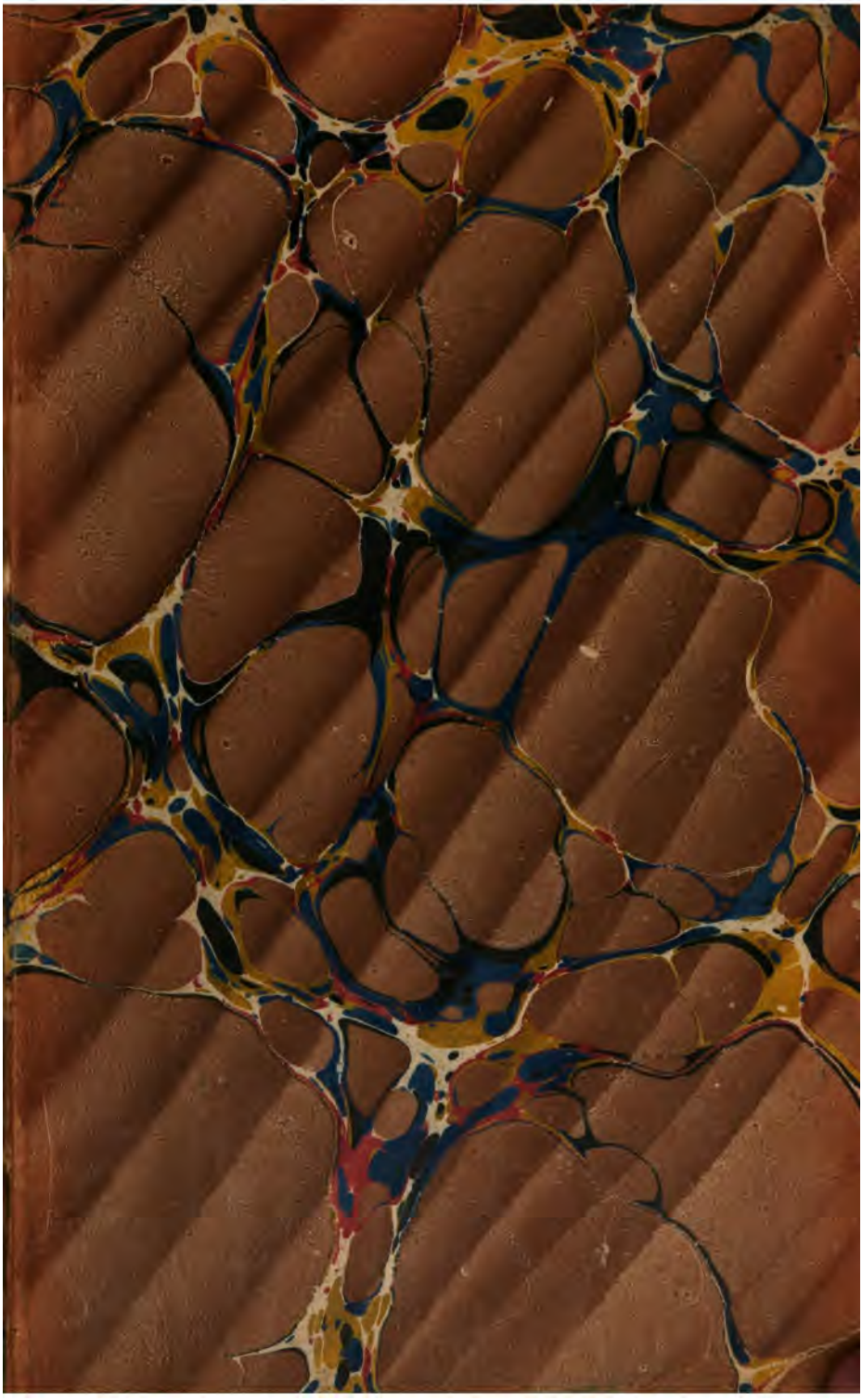

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# OBSERVATIONS

ON

# ARGUMENTS

FOR AND AGAINST

AN

# UNION

BETWEEN

# *GREAT BRITAIN*

AND

# IRELAND.

—DUBLIN:—

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1799.

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# OBSERVATIONS

ON

# ARGUMENTS, &c.

IT has no doubt been rumoured with great induſtry, the intention of the legiſlature of the two kingdoms, propoſing an Union between the two kingdoms.

The queſtion is certainly moſt important in its extent, and applies to the warmeſt feelings and prejudices of the human mind.

But it is not by falſifying, or miſtating the queſtion, that it can be properly or temperately diſcuſſed.

And firſt, the abſtract queſtion propoſed in the Conſiderations, is only begging the queſtion; for I deny that the two independent States, find their ſeparate exiſtence mutually inconvenient, or that they mutually propoſe to form themſelves into one State. The ſtatement of the queſtion would be truer thus:—

A greater power wiſhes to abſorb, and annihilate a leſſer, which ſhe finds no longer governable by proxy, and in which ſhe feels a ſtrength daily ariſing, that may enable her finally to reſiſt oppreſſion and corruption.

The ſecond queſtion:—

" That

"That every ſtate or ſociety has a right, "conſiſtent with its exiſting duties and "obligations, to propoſe the means which "are moſt probable for the attainment of "the happineſs of its people."

This queſtion, carried to the extent it would admit of, might lead to dangerous concluſions.

Would it not be tantamount to treaſon to ſay, "that Ireland has a right to ſepa-"rate herſelf from England," ſhould ſhe ſuppoſe it more conducive to her happineſs? And ſurely it is as fair to beg a queſtion in one caſe as another.

The hiſtory of the Seven United Provinces, the hiſtory of Switzerland, prove that

that a leſſer power can maintain itſelf againſt a greater.

Anſwering a queſtion by an "If," is not proving it; and what proof can be adduced that Ireland will be happier by an Union with England?

England uniting her ſeven Heptarchies into one common maſs, can noways be analogous to an Union between England and Ireland. Inhabitants of the ſame ſoil, their King, living in the midſt of their kingdom, poſſeſſing nearly the ſame religion, cuſtoms, and manners, the change could be ſcarcely felt. Ireland, divided by the ſea, can never hope to be illumined by the rays of royalty. Differing moſtly in religion, ſtill more in manners and ſentiments, how can an Union ever aſſimilate ſuch contrarieties; or how

how can ſuch an Union ever promote happineſs?

The Union of the Heptarchy, as well as Wales, was the effect of conqueſt, and of force, not of choice; and it is of choice we are ſpeaking.

The Union of Scotland is too recent, not to be traced to its ſource—The unſettled ſtate of that kingdom, the corruption of the Scotch Members completed it. Beſides, the Scotch might feel a pride that they had given a King to England, from whom the then poſſeſſor of the throne deſcended, and they might conceive, had a right to regulate their kingdom.

Ireland has never given a King to England—her independence has been acknowledged, even after conqueſt; and who now, can have a right to diſpoſe of it?

Perhaps

Perhaps it would have been happier for Ireland, had England, early united her, with herſelf, Ireland would have been ſpared the tyranny of intermediate controul; the reſtriction of commerce; and might now perhaps hold her head high among nations; had ſuch been her fate, ſhe could not have ſunk into the barbariſms that have diſgraced her; nor would ſuch torrents of blood have been ſhed by contending parties, made fierce by the ſtruggles for pre-eminence.

Too much of our inferiority may be placed to our political diſputes—Too much have party matters been encouraged to trim the balance. But made wiſe by experience, may we not hope that we have felt too much the conſequence of ſuch a conduct, to avoid in future being made the dupe of party?

The

The laws of England and of Ireland, are pretty nearly equal; the ſame protection exiſts for the ſubject.—It is the abuſe of the laws, that is the cauſe of our misfortunes.

Let the laws be reſpected, let them be duly enforced; let encouragement be given to induſtry; let landlords reſide on their eſtates; protect and ſhew good example to their tenantry; let ſome of thoſe thouſands, thrown away in other countries, be employed here to promote agriculture, and commerce; let ſpirits be put out of the reach of the lower claſs, and malt encouraged as in England.

What reaſon can there be to ſuppoſe, that Ireland will not riſe to as high a level as her ſituation will admit of; or as is neceſſary to her happineſs? Surely if communication

munication with good company, (if ſuch it is denominated,) will amend our manners; our gentry ought to be the perfection of Europe; they are allowed to be the greateſt reſidents among good company abroad; and the leaſt addicted to home.

Catholic claims, Diſſenters claims, tithes, our Parliament ought to be fully competent to judge of. It is foreign interference that cauſes the evil, the bringing forward Catholic Emancipation, we all know too well the ſource, and have felt too much the effect.

The Proteſtants of Ireland have too much power, for their opponents to hope to conquer them; and like the reſt of the world, they like it too much, to part with it tamely. We need never fear the ſurrender of rights, and religion, which confer place and power.

Ireland

Ireland is equal to defend itſelf againſt all encroachments. I reſpect the aſſertion of one of our moſt favorite preachers*. "Ireland is equal to itſelf, Ireland has "ſubdued the Rebellion. The bravery of "our brethren in arms is above all praiſe; "may the remembrance equal the brillian-"cy; may it be like themſelves, immortal!"

Can it be ſuppoſed now, when Rebellion has tried its utmoſt ſtrength, aided by the moſt concurring circumſtances, and has found itſelf ſo eaſily defeated, that it will again riſk ſuch ſcenes; again when ſo weakened, ſeek again an eaſier defeat?

* Mr. Kirwan, at the Sermon before the Lord Lieutenant, for the Widows and Orphans of the Yeomanry, &c.

The conſequences have been too fatal, to be ever repeated—And Rebellion is ſtrangled in the certainty of defeat.

We are told an Union will bring us an increaſe of commerce, agriculture, wealth, and harmony. But the proof is what we have a right to examine.

Will commerce increaſe by a decreaſe of conſumption? Will agriculture increaſe by the more frequent abſence of landlords? Will wealth increaſe by more ſpecie being drained from the kingdom? Will harmony increaſe by the conſtant compariſons of Engliſh wealth, of Engliſh elegancies, and conveniences? Theſe will be more eaſily proved to be ſome of the effects of an Union, than the benefits that are preſuppoſed.

The

The argument adduced that by the Union, the numbers of the Catholics will be diminiſhed, and the numbers of the Diſſenters increaſed, is more in words than in effect. It will not actually increaſe, or decreaſe one Catholic, or Diſſenter, in this kingdom. Beſides, allowing the decreaſe of the Catholics, and the increaſe of the Diſſenters, is the concluſion, or not, in favour of the ſecurity of the ſtate, or of the Crown? The ſentiments of each, on Monarchy, and Governments are too well-known to be deſcanted on.

Of this we have a certain proof, that by the acknowledgment of our legiſlative independence, our commerce, our agriculture has increaſed, and of courſe, our wealth. Innovations are dangerous; too extended a power, has often proved deſtructive.

Rome,

Rome, by her overgrown power, and extended empire, deſtroyed herſelf; better had it been for her, that Carthage had flouriſhed in all her glory, (even as a rival). In ſubduing Carthage, ſhe forgot to ſubdue herſelf; and luxury, and pride haſtened her downfall.

France affords no happy proof of the benefits of an Union; but might ſerve well for proofs and arguments againſt one.

Our Barriſters may not find it ſo eaſy to obtain political importance; but what ſecurity have we, that they will be the leſs eager after it? The ſame paucity of abilities will drive them into the Engliſh Senate, as into the Iriſh; nor have we any reaſon to ſuppoſe that rewards will be leſs neceſſary.

Until

Until the obſervation conveyed in the Conſiderations, I thought it was underſtood that Judges were independent.

Let us ever be united to England, in the bonds of affection and gratitude. Let our men fill her fleets and her armies, for our mutual protection. But let us carefully examine how far our happineſs will be improved by a cloſer Union; if conviction remains on our mind, that an Union will encreaſe our happineſs, let us embrace it.

If our preſent ſtate is beſt, let the emphatic words of the ſervite Paul of Venice be the motto of every Iriſhman.

ESTO PERPETUA.

F. L.

FINIS.

# STRICTURES

ON THE PROPOSED

# UNION

BETWEEN

## *GREAT-BRITAIN and IRELAND;*

WITH

## OCCASIONAL REMARKS.

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BY

*NICHOLAS GAY, ESQ. F. R. S.*

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QUI MORES HOMINUM MULTORUM VIDIT ET URBES.—HOR.

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DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY JOHN EXSHAW, 98, GRAFTON-STREET.

1799.

# STRICTURES, &c.

IN this age of politics, when every man ſo freely gives his opinion by word, writing, or in print, I'll e'en take up the pen, enter the liſts, and as freely give my ſentiments on this great and momentous ſubject, an incorporating union between Great Britain and Ireland; a ſubject which in that kingdom is a principal topic—the terror and fears of ſome, but the hopes and ſanguine wiſhes of many more. To this latter claſs I moſt cordially join my mite of ſuffrage, as, from the firſt day I ever heard it mentioned, I never had a more unequivocal and decided opinion, that it was the happieſt

thought and the beſt poſſible meaſure that could take place in the preſent criſis, and I bleſſed the hands that firſt introduced and brought it forward. And this I did, under the firmeſt conviction that this meaſure alone was not only neceſſary to the ſalvation of Ireland, but that the kingdom was loſt without it; nay more, that it was a neceſſary meaſure eventually to ſave Great Britain.

But, before I proceed any farther, as I am a very private individual, and little known to the public eye, having paſſed my life in the retired circle of my friends, I think I ſhall here follow the good Spectator's advice, that whoever offers himſelf to the world in print, the public have a right to know ſomewhat about him, ſome general outlines of his character, &c. as his birth, parentage, life, and education; he even goes ſo far, I think, as to deſcribe his countenance

tenance, that he has a round ſhort face, &c. I ſhall not be ſo minute, my face and perſon being of ſuch little conſequence to the public, and ſtill leſs to my ſubject; but I ſhall juſt tell them that I was born in Ireland, am originally of an Engliſh family who ſettled in that kingdom the middle of the laſt century. I now, from private family motives, of no conſequence to any one but myſelf, reſide here, and here moſt probably ſhall live and die. The family eſtate, of about three thouſand pounds a year, I found, at my father's death, twenty years ago, much impaired. He was a hoſpitable generous man, but improvident. However, what ſtill remains is to me, a ſingle man, an ample independent competency, fully ſufficient to all the neceſſaries of life, and even to ſome of its luxuries. Being of a very active and itinerant diſpoſition, and having nothing elſe to do, I ſet out (though then paſt fifty,

when the hey-day in the blood is over, and reaſon more matured) on one of the moſt extenſive continental tours, that I believe few men have made. Viſiting with a good deal of attention for the ſpace of eight years the whole of Europe (with ſome part of Aſia), from Malta to Peterſburgh, and from London to Conſtantinople, and yet not ſatisfied with all theſe peregrinations, I am juſt now returned from a four months excurſion, of about twelve hundred miles, through theſe two kingdoms.

Theſe are my credentials; and thus furniſhed and thus equipped, I think I have as fair pretenſions to give my opinion on the ſubject of an Union as many others who have publiſhed their's. It ſhall not be very long, as in my mind the whole of this argument lies in a very narrow compaſs. Lord Shafteſbury remarks, that in the way of

reaſon

reaſon as much may be ſaid in a folio ſheet as in a folio volume.

After ſome years abſence from my native land, I lately paid it a viſit, and in different excurſions travelled over the greater part of the kingdom, and that with ſome attention. I there found that the union was the univerſal topic; and by ſome it was, I own, moſt ſeverely, moſt virulently, and moſt bitterly handled, in the ſtrongeſt poſſible terms, as the baſeſt of all meaſures, fraught with ruin, deſtruction, nay almoſt the diſſolution of the country. It would ruin trade, ruin Dublin, ruin the people. The honor, the character, the independency of the nation would be loſt, No court, no balls at the caſtle, &c. &c. That fine building, the parliament houſe, after ſo much expence, was to become uſeleſs. Some were very clamorous againſt the meaſure, as brought forward

forward at an improper period; it was premature and ill-timed, when rebellion, tumult, religious rancour, &c. overſpread the land. Here I differed from them totally and diametrically. This was the time, I aſſert it, the true time, the only time: in a ſeaſon of loyalty, unanimity, peace, and proſperity, it might not be ſo neceſſary. Thoſe that are well need not a phyſician, but thoſe that are ſick: and ſuch was our caſe, very ſick indeed, nor yet by any means recovered, nor ever ſhall, without an union. What had their parliament done, to be thus taken from them, &c &c. &c. with much more in the like ſtrain; all which I confeſs, for want no doubt of quick intellects on my part, made no great impreſſion upon me. I rather thought it *vox et præterea nihil*, except in the laſt article, what had their parliament done. Here I fully agreed with them: not much

much indeed! And to this anſwer I was very fully competent, having ſo lately travelled through the country, and attentively viewed its face, ſituation, &c. and to this particular I will entreat my reader's cloſe attention, as on this criterion the preſent ſituation, ſtate and face of the country, will reſt my whole argument in favor of an union. It is the very being, end and aim, the very head and front on which this ſubject for and againſt an union will unqueſtionably reſt.

With theſe men, theſe violent anti-unioniſts, I uſed to reaſon, that I really could not ſee this meaſure in the ſtrong light they repreſented it: nor that all this deſtruction, deſolation and woe would be attendant on it; and this I obſerved, from the plaineſt of all reaſons, Whoſe intereſt can it be to thus deſtroy and ſubdue this kingdom? It cannot be the intereſt of England, that is impoſſible

poſſible: for the more you flouriſh, the greater will be their advantages. They would be richer, ſtronger, more powerful, &c. juſt in the ſame proportion. In this light England certainly views it, and in the fulneſs of the beſt intentions and beſt wiſhes for the proſperity, peace, honor and happineſs of Ireland, it is thus brought forward, recommended and adviſed. And by whom? Not your enemies certainly: that is impoſſible: no! but much, very much the contrary.

England, your ſiſter kingdom, your beſt friend, in whom you live, and move, and have your being, the joint legiſlature of England, they, I ſay, offer to unite with you; they, in the moſt warm, kind, and friendly manner, invite you to this Union; an Union with what? With the firſt nation in the world! And all this recommended

by

by whom? By one of the beſt kings that ever ſwayed the Engliſh ſceptre! The father of his people! A truly good conſtitutional and patriotic king. And this I aſſert in the teeth of all jacobins; and I further predict that at his demiſe (late, very late indeed may that fatal event take place for the bleſſing and happineſs of, I hope e'er long to ſay, his three united kingdoms) his epitaph will be *Here lies a patriot King*. And this king moſt fortunately aſſiſted, counſelled and adviſed by the beſt, wiſeſt, truly conſtitutional, patriotic, and efficient miniſtry, (this I aſſert and will prove) that ever guided the helm of the ſtate; and this I ſay in direct contradiction to Mr. Fox and all his wordy declamations,* as alſo to his young nephew

* The great Dr. Berkeley, biſhop of Cloyne (who by the way was my very near relation) in his excellent maxims concerning patriotiſm, printed ſome years ſince, ſays, "We are not to think every clamorous haranguer, or every ſplenetic repiner againſt a court,

in the houſe of lords, and their aſſociates. They are, indeed, thank God, few in number, hardly worth being counted, and much leſs being weighed, but, peace to their manes, they are dead, and ſo is my enmity; I war not with the duſt. They are indeed dead, buried and forgotten; never again to riſe, and no loſs for any good they have done, nay I fear much the contrary, a great deal of miſchief. But this I leave to better pens, and I wiſh ſome ſuch would take it up; it is an ample and a copious ſubject.

I ſhall juſt here obſerve, that in thus introducing theſe gentlemen they cannot ſuppoſe I mean them the leaſt perſonal offence —far be it from me. I ſpeak of them in their political characters as members of parliament, public men, and as they have often

a court, is therefore a patriot." Theſe are his words, the book is now before me. They are very appoſite and ſtrong in the preſent caſe; and again he ſays, "The factious man is apt to miſtake himſelf for a patriot."

very

very freely done of others. In their private life I dare ſay they are very worthy, very amiable, and ſo indeed have I heard, but in their public conduct I think them highly cenſurable.

Some may ſay this eulogy, this juſt praiſe of our miniſtry is flattery. I deny it. Truth is not flattery. I have not the honour of the leaſt perſonal acquaintance with any one of them; and again what could my poor mite of praiſe add to ſuch exalted characters? Nothing, not a jot. They deſerve well of their country. So I think, ſo I ſpeak, and in full, irrefragable and indiſputable proof of this aſſertion, I will aſk a few queſtions. Was this nation ever more decidedly unanimous in their love, loyalty, prayers and good wiſhes for their king? Never! Was the commerce of this nation at any other period of time at a greater heighth than at preſent? Never! This is allowed. Were our arms ever

greater or more ſucceſsful by ſea or land, in Euroye, Africa, and the Eaſt? Our nautical achievements almoſt paſs credence, and will hordly be believed in a future age. Led on by our gallant admirals, their ſpirited officers, and brave tars, they are invincible. Or did we ever, I aſk it, at any other æra, more glorioufly aſſert, or more ſtrenuouſly maintain, our paramount empire over the ocean? Never! never! If theſe be not proofs of a good, a wiſe and an efficient miniſtry, I know not what are; and yet this good miniſtry, which thus prudently conducts the affairs of England, are all a parcel of rogues leagued and united for the utter ruin and deſtruction of Ireland, by the introduction and recommendation of this vile union. For with theſe anti-unioniſts ruin, deſtruction, and union are ſynonimous terms. And further, theſe wicked miniſters, from the fulneſs of their malice againſt this poor kingdom,

kingdom, have ſeduced and brought over our worthy lord lieutenant to join the plot, for in his laſt ſpeech on the prorogation of the Iriſh parliament, he fully and ſtrongly, in the moſt polite, amiable, and friendly terms, recommends this union as the beſt poſſible meaſure for the peace, proſperity, and happineſs of Ireland. Yet this man, one of the greateſt characters of the age, and among the foremoſt for every civil and military virtue, comes like a thief in the night, forfeits his fair fame and well-earned praiſe, and joins in the wicked league to ruin, ſubvert, and utterly deſtroy this country which he governs, which he loves, and where he is adored.

All this, I own, is too laughable, too ridiculous, and I am almoſt aſhamed to mention it; yet ſtrange as it is, I have heard ſuch language, nor could I account for it, but that in politics I have ſometimes found a cer-

a certain perverſeneſs, an obliquity of intellects with ſome men, that nothing will perſuade, no truth convince: they are like the deaf adder, they will not hear.

With ſuch I never argue long; I leave them to themſelves. With others more ductile I endeavoured to reaſon them out of this belief, that all was leagued againſt them. No ſuch thing, ſay I, but juſt the contrary, the very reverſe of what you ſuppoſe; there is no treachery meant nor intended; all is done with the beſt poſſible intention, and for the ſole view and advantage of the Iriſh nation. That thoſe who adviſed it did it from the beſt motives, ſeeing, as they muſt, the preſent ſtate of the kingdom, the late invaſions and conſequent rebellion, they thence naturally ſaw that ſomething was very wrong, ſomething rotten in the ſtate; that ſomething ſhould be done, ſome new meaſures taken, and that

an

an union, and an union alone, would be efficient: and there they were certainly right. I repeat it again and again, nothing ſhort of that will ſave the nation. Thus I reaſoned, and thus I argued. Some I convinced, others were obdurate, and nothing could perſuade them but that ruin and union were one and the ſame thing; but they are, I am ſure, much miſtaken, and will on the day of trial be found, I have no doubt, light in the balance.

Having ſaid thus much, I will now adduce my reaſons why I am ſo ſanguine in my hopes and wiſhes for an union, firm and laſting between Great Britain and Ireland, which, after ſome years abſence, I have lately viſited, travelled over the greater part, and I muſt freely own, and ſorry I am to ſay it, I cannot report any very favourable picture; I ſaw no great improvement, not much meliorated ſince I left it. Little

progreſſive

progreſſive. I ſaw no new towns ariſe, nor enlargement of old, but the contrary; dilapidations in ſome, no great increaſe of gentlemens' houſes, rather the reverſe; for many of them were ſacked, pillaged, and deſtroyed, by the late horrid, infamous, cruel, bloody, and diſgraceful rebellion, an everlaſting blot to Iriſh annals. No great increaſe of commerce, manufactures, &c. and ſo I was told by others in that line that there was very little. I ſaw few new plantations, hedges, or incloſures, and yet theſe are great additional beauties to all countries. The inns in general were very bad: I will not deſcribe them, but I felt them. I did not perceive that the ſtate of the poor and the peaſantry was in any thing bettered: and I will freely here declare, that the poor and peaſantry of Ireland are the worſt clothed, the worſt fed, and the worſt lodged, of any in Europe; and this I ſay from ocular conviction.

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The houſe, or rather hut, of an Iriſh peaſant, is the cave of famine, dirt, rags, and naſtineſs; and in this every gentleman in the kingdom that I ſpoke to on the ſubject fully agreed with me. Thouſands without ſhoes or ſtockings; all which are ſurely ſtrong criterions, query whether they are not the beſt, to form a juſt judgment of the proſperity or poverty of a nation. And here I cannot help citing a very apt quotation or two, and fully corroborative of my opinion on this point, taken from one of the greateſt men and beſt Iriſh patriots of this age, no leſs than the great Dr. Berkeley, Biſhop of Cloyne, in his book called the Queriſt, printed in the year 1750; he aſks "Whether the bulk of our Iriſh natives are not kept from thriving by that cynical content in dirt and beggary, which they poſſeſs to a degree *beyond any other people in Chriſtendom?*" Again he aſks, "Whether the

creating of wants be not the likelieſt way to produce induſtry in a people? and whether, If our peaſants were accuſtomed to eat beef and wear ſhoes, they would not be more induſtrious?" Theſe are his words: This was the ſtate of the poor near half a century ago, and it is in nothing ſince improved.

Again, I found drunkenneſs very prevalent, and whiſky ſtill kept its ſway—that baneful drug to Iriſh proſperity and Iriſh induſtry, and ſuch will it ever be till totally aboliſhed, or ſo modified as to render it above the purchaſe of the poor.

Seeing things thus, the preſent ſituation of Ireland, certainly not flattering nor flouriſhing, the ſtate of the poor, &c. &c. I reaſoned with myſelf, What is this? what can all this mean? Now, at the end of the eighteenth century, ſo little advanced, ſo little improved; comparatively with England,

land, nothing; though not many miles diſtant from each other, yet with a conſtant reſident parliament meeting in the capital five or ſix months in each year; yet, I again repeat it, ſo little done!

Here, on this circumſtance, and this alone, I reſt my whole argument in favour of an union; that though we have had a parliament for ſuch a ſeries of years annually aſſembling, conſulting, adviſing, &c. yet ſtill ſo backward. Add to this the late horrid rebellion that raged throughout the land, which, though for the preſent ſuppreſſed, I yet fear (but hope I am miſtaken) the embers ſtill are ſmoaking, not wholly extinguiſhed, nor ever will, I am convinced, till the union takes place. That will effectually extinguiſh them, and nothing elſe; and from the aſhes will, phœnix-like, ariſe Ireland regenerate, born anew, a work to

wonder at—progreſſively and in time another England! ! !

So I pray, ſo I predict, and ſo I propheſy. We have gone on too long floundering; let us change hands, let us change meaſures; an union is ſtill offered to you; and by England, the greateſt kingdom now exiſting, in every poſſible idea, a world within itſelf, with wonders bleſſed!

I love the theme, and could fill a folio on the ſubject. I own myſelf an enthuſiaſtic admirer of this mighty empire, I believe the rather from my having ſeen all others, to which, take it for all in all, they are in truth but ſhades and ſhadows. She cordially invites you, holds out her arms to receive you; let us then embrace, ſeize the opportunity, unite with her in indiſſoluble bands; cordially, willingly, and ſincerely unite with England; and from that happy,

happy

happy day, may progreſſively be dated the proſperity of Ireland. My utmoſt ambition and my utmoſt wiſh is to aſſimilate Ireland to England, which can alone be accompliſhed by an union.

In this ſtatement I ſpeak of Ireland in its political light, its policy, its goverment, &c. for it poſſeſſes every phyſical advantage equally with England. Our ſoil is good; nay, Mr. Young I think ſays, in ſome inſtances, better. Our climate perhaps more moderate, more temperate, leſs extreme of heat and cold: noble lakes, fine rivers, the beſt bays and harbours, inferior to none. Yet, with all theſe advantages, what is our ſituation at this day, comparatively with our neighbours? how inferior! Does it not then moſt naturally follow, that there muſt be ſomething radically wrong in our political conſtitution, as it now exiſts? What then is our beſt ſpecific? I again and again

repeat

repeat it—an union, and that alone, can ſave us.

I ſhould here, in juſtice, obſerve, and with much pleaſure I relate it, that there is one part of the kingdom which differs materially from the reſt. The face of the country has a much better appearance, more populous, better planted, as about Armagh, Richill, Belfaſt, Lurgan, &c.; and here, the lower claſs are better fed, lodged, and clothed; more cleanly, but ſtill not enough ſo. I call nothing well enough, if it can be better; and nothing ſhort of Engliſh cleanlineſs will ſatisfy me. All theſe advantages are the reſult of commerce, that great and happy bleſſing that clothes the naked, feeds the poor, and enriches all; for here the linen trade (the vitals of Ireland) flouriſhes in its fulleſt ſcope. It is, I underſtand, moſtly carried on by the diſſenters, a race of men very honeſt, active, induſtrious,

induſtrious, and of much commercial turn; and in this light are valuable members of the community, and well deſerving of public applauſe. But I have been told (I hope it is not true), that in their political principles they are not quite what they ought to be, fond of change, &c. and not, as firmly, attached to the government under which they live, as might be expected. I am ſure if this be ſo, it is highly reproachful, illiberal, ungenerous, and moſt ungrateful on their part, to make ſo bad a return to that government under which they have ſo long lived in peace, happineſs, and proſperity, protected and ſecure, and under which they have battened, fattened, and grown rich. Let me then here, as their beſt friend, adviſe them to reform, to take this hint, and become, as they ought, good and loyal ſubjects. It is their intereſt, as well as their duty, ſo to do. He that is not with

us

as is againſt us, and ever will be ſuſpected. A word to the wiſe!

I muſt not conclude my ſubject without a quotation in favour of this meaſure, of very high authority indeed, and to which all anti-unioniſts ſhould bend the knee and bow; one of the greateſt geniuſes of that age, and the moſt ſincere and zealous patriot that Ireland ever gave birth to. I mean the great William Molyneux (who was my uncle). In his famous caſe of Ireland, dedicated to king William, he there expreſſes his wiſhes in favour of an union between the two kingdoms; and adds, "But this is a happineſs too great, I fear, for us to expect." Theſe are his words in the genuine edition printed a hundred years ago. I ſay genuine, as I have ſince been told, that a ſpurious edition has been printed with this paragraph left out. This is a mutilation with a vengeance! The book I ſaw is in the family library

library now in the poſſeſſion of his nephew; the preſent Sir Capel Molyneux. With this great authority on my ſide, I ſhall conclude with my moſt fervent wiſhes that this happy meaſure may take place, and that ſpeedily.

Having thus ſettled and ſecured the union, as I hope, my next page, as in duty bound, ſhall be filled with my beſt and moſt ſincere thanks to my friends in Ireland, for their many obliging civilities. They received me kindly, and treated me hoſpitably, for which I certainly do, and ever ſhall, retain a very juſt ſenſe; but hoſpitality is the characteriſtic of Iriſh gentlemen, and of the nation—ever ready kindly to receive the ſtranger and the traveller. And here, in particular, I muſt not omit my beſt thanks to my good Lord Primate, for his condeſcending attentions during ſome weeks that I paſſed at a friend's houſe in his grace's neighbourhood. Here is a man, an honor

to his cloth, to the church, and to the great ſtation he ſo worthily fills. Pious, learned, courteous, and affable. Nothing puffed up. A truly primitive biſhop; an example for all clergymen, from the higheſt to the loweſt, to look up to and copy after. And this is the univerſal voice of the nation, where he is honoured, loved, and eſteemed. Long, very long, may he enjoy his exalted ſituation, for the welfare of religion and the church, and for the happineſs of his fine numerous family. Nor do I know a man who more fully deſerves that high eulogy which Pope pays to his friend the biſhop of Cloyne, in the following lines:

"Ev'n in a biſhop I can ſpy deſert:
Secker is decent; Rundel has a heart;
Manners, with candour, are to Benſon given:
To Berkley, every virtue under heaven."

This praiſe, ſo juſtly due to Berkley, dead, is as juſtly due to Newcome, living.

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The Primate is a conſtant reſident in his dioceſe, except when his parliamentary duty calls him up to town; but he never leaves the kingdom.

Having mentioned reſidents, I ſhall juſt here obſerve, that I do not know a more cenſurable or a more reprehenſible character than a non-reſident clergyman, be he archbiſhop, biſhop, dean, or rector. It is big with miſchief, and a crying ſin againſt God and againſt man. They cannot ſurely ſuppoſe that the great ſtipends they enjoy, and the tythe of the land, was given them to ſpend it out of their dioceſe, much leſs out of the kingdom. and certainly not out of their pariſhes. I hope there are few or no delinquents. I particulariſe no man—*qui capit, ille facit.* Yet I have heard wicked laymen, complain, perhaps they were angry at paying tythes; which indeed I ſhould not much wonder at if the parſon did not reſide. The la-

bourer I freely allow is worthy of his hire; but I as freely contend that he ſhould do the duty. Of a biſhop or clergyman, who abſents himſelf from his dioceſe or his pariſh, I think it may fairly be concluded, that in ſuch a caſe they are not neceſſary to the hierarchy; that their place is a ſinecure, and ſhould be ſuppreſſed or they ſuperſeded. This is obvious; and ſo I take leave of my clerical friends, with my beſt and moſt hearty wiſhes for their proſperity, happineſs and duration, in both kingdoms, ſo long as they deſerve it by reſidence, good lives, and good works, by example as well as precept, and not a day longer. All this I ſay from my perfect zeal for the eſtabliſhed church, though I have not the leaſt pretenſions to ſaintſhip, yet no great ſinner I hope, and ſtill leſs a cynic. But I am thoroughly convinced that our eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment is the firſt in the world, and our religion the

beſt

beſt founded on reaſon and common ſenſe, and that none other ſo forcibly inculcates piety, virtue, honor charity, and truth; and this wholly devoid of all mockery, mummery, bigotry, ſuperſtition, or prieſtcraft. Of what other church can ſo much be ſaid? I am therefore the more anxious for its preſervation.

On my return from Ireland, and landing at Holyhead, I took the old Cheſter Road, merely to viſit Liverpool, of which I had heard ſo much; and I was not indeed diſappointed. It is a wonderful place, a magnificent town, ſecond I believe to none in wealth and commerce, London excepted. Their noble docks and crowded ſhipping are really aſtoniſhing. To give ſome idea of its trade, I was aſſured, that in the courſe of ſeventeen days they lately remitted to the cuſtom-houſe of London, for duties, the enormous ſum of one hundred and thirty-two thou-

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ſand nine hundred and thirty-one pounds, ten ſhillings and ſeven pence; that there were many merchants worth an hundred thouſand pounds, and ſome conſiderably more, which may readily be conceived, when it is known that the houſe of Bayley, Taylor, and Co. netted (to uſe a commercial phraſe) laſt year to the amount of fifty-ſeven thouſand pounds, and there were many ſuch. Mr. Bolton, an African and Weſt India merchant here, gave in his income tax at twenty-two thouſand five hundred pounds a year; and Mr. Walker, they told me, makes from twenty to thirty thouſand a year by commiſſion buſineſs.

I repeat all this as it was related to me by gentlemen of the place with whom I dined at the ordinary with the ſtewards of the oratorio. The oratorio was then going on; it was performed for three ſucceſſive days: at the one I ſaw they told me there were

were ſixteen hundred in the church, at half a guinea a ticket, and in the evening the concert was crouded at the ſame price. I enquired about the population; ſome ſaid ſeventy, and others ninety thouſand; I believe the medium is the truth.

They have eleven noble churches, moſt of them built within theſe few years, and all I believe in the preſent century. Theſe are thy wonders, O Liverpool! Theſe thy works, O Commerce!

Here are ſeveral good inns: of theſe Bates's hotel is the firſt. The landlord told me he makes generally from fifty to ſixty beds. In this viſit to Liverpool I ſaw every man ſo active, ſo buſy, ſo happy, and ſo well employed, that it confirmed me in an opinion I have ever entertained, that among all the different claſſes of ſociety the life of a merchant is the happieſt, certainly one of the moſt uſeful, and I often lament that I

was not bred one; daily growing rich and hourly occupied; theſe are great bleſſings. An Engliſh merchant is a great character, moſt uſeful to the ſtate, in all his dealings proverbial for integrity and punctuality, and this I found was the univerſal opinion throughout Europe.

From Liverpool I went to Birmingham, another great commercial town, and though inland, carries on a prodigious trade: the works of Mr. Bolton are amazing, and well worth a journey to ſee them. There are excellent theatres, muſic-rooms, &c. both here and at Liverpool. They were fitting up the great church for oratorios to be performed the following week. Here again, as at Liverpool, are many good inns, Mrs. Lloyd's hotel is the firſt: there are ſixty rooms all numbered with enamelled figures. She told me ſhe had expended above nine thouſand pounds, and ſtill meant to make

great

great additions; the offices, ſtables, coach-houſes, &c. are all in the ſame proportion. This I give as a hint to Iriſh inn-keepers. In my ſurvey of theſe two towns, I fear I broke the commandment, for I own I coveted them and wiſhed them in Ireland, or at leaſt two ſuch; and I have been, perhaps, more prolix in theſe accounts, merely in the view and idea of ſtimulating my countrymen to go and do ſo likewiſe.

As I have my pen in hand and ſhall certainly never again reſume it on any political ſubject, I ſhall juſt make a few remarks (in which, I truſt, my countrymen will at leaſt give me credit for good intentions), as they occurred to me in my late tour through Ireland, which ſtill I offer with the utmoſt diffidence and deference to better judgments. I thought the roads in general, though good, hard, and firm, yet much too narrow, which is ſtill made more

dangerous from the large dikes or drains on either ſide. In England they have no dikes to their roads, which render them very ſafe and pleaſant; in Ireland they are very large, and in many inſtances an overturn muſt be inevitable death; I did indeed eſcape, though I ſometimes ſhuddered. The dikes ſhould be on the outſide of the road; and I have ſeen ſome few inſtances where this has taken place, as on ſome parts of the northern road towards Drogheda and Dundalk; and here I muſt remark, though ſome boaſted to me the fine breadth of this road, I believe from ſixty to ſeventy feet, yet I own I could not quite concur with them, I thought it too broad; I have no doubt it was well intended by the projector, but to what purpoſe ſo broad; I rather thought it a work of ſupererogation; all extreme is error. Is not this a great waſte of ground from tillage and paſ-

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ture; if all roads were to be of this breadth, what would be left for agriculture, &c.? I think I was told that this was only to take place where the mail coaches run; but this is not, in my mind, a good reaſon. I believe there are twenty mail coaches in England for one in Ireland, and ſo of other carriages in proportion; yet, on an average, I doubt that the roads of that kingdom are not more than from twenty-five to thirty feet (except in ſome inſtances, as approaches to great towns, London, &c.) and theſe without dikes, are ample for every poſſible purpoſe; and ſurely if this be ſufficient for England, Ireland need not look for more. I ſay ſo much pro bono publico, for as to myſelf, it is more than probable I may never again travel over them: I am now of a good round age, far advanced, and very poſſibly may be cut off before I can again reviſit my native ſoil, which ſtill ſhall have, to my lateſt breath, my beſt wiſhes.

Another circumſtance that ſtruck me forcibly enough, was our mode of land carriage, by cars, which appeared to me moſt diſgraceful, poor, mean-looking machines. Ireland and Spain are the only kingdoms in Europe that uſe cars in common; and Spain is ſurely a bad example to follow in any thing. How much better is the Engliſh cart and waggon; I almoſt take off my hat as I paſs by a broad wheel waggon, with its team of eight, ſometimes ten ſtout, ſtrong horſes, their chime of bells, &c.; there is ſomething majeſtic in it. How unlike our little carts with ſmall ſhabby horſes; and I am withall perfectly convinced, a more profitable, and more œconomical mode of conveyance; for theſe waggons are conducted by one man, or at moſt by a man and a boy; whereas, I have often ſeen, in Ireland, a man to each car. Is not this a great waſte of time, hands, and labour? I wiſh much to ſee

waggons

waggons and carts ſubſtituted in Ireland, inſtead of cars; but this, with all other good things, will be produced by an Union.

The inns, in Ireland, want much reform, they are, for the moſt part, very bad indeed, I never ſaw worſe except in Spain and Portugal; the beſt inns in the world are in England, in ſome inſtances like little palaces. Good inns are of great public uſe and advantage; they are eſſential to our happineſs, pleaſure, conveniency, and even to our health. I wiſh ſomething was done towards their amelioration.

I ſhall juſt mention one other circumſtance as a great defect in Ireland, and the more to be lamented, where the natural ſituation of the country, the ſuperficies are moſt beautiful, a fine irregularity and diverſity of grounds, very few flats, and a juſt medium between hill and dale; yet with all theſe advantages, it is for the greater part very

very thinly planted, in many places totally devoid of trees. I wiſh plantations were more encouraged and promoted, which to effect, I do not know a better method than to oblige every man who makes a ditch, to quick it, and plant a foreſt tree at every ten or twenty feet, which, in a few years, would have a fine woody appearance, indeed look like an extenſive foreſt, yet no waſte of ground. The hedge-row elms of England is one of its moſt diſtinguiſhing features and greateſt ornaments. I know nothing that more fully comprehends or better blends together the *utile dulci*, than plantations.

I have now done; my reader will rejoice, and I am not ſorry. I have thrown in my mite, which, if it ſhould be attended with the ſmalleſt advantage to my native land, or to the empire at large, I am overpaid; I otherwiſe, as very poſſibly may be the caſe,

and

and that this little eſſay is whole nugatory and of no avail, the loſs alone is mine, of juſt ſo much time, ink, and paper.

P. S. On the ſubject of commerce, as relative to the Union, I earneſtly recommend to my reader the peruſal of four pamphlets lately publiſhed as the ſpeeches of Lords Auckland, Minto, and Sheffield, and Mr. Peel, men of known abilities and great commercial knowledge; they have there very fully evinced the many advantages in trade that will accrue to Ireland by an Union. I am told their arguments on the ſubject are irrefragable, and their reaſonings unanſwerable.

*London,*
*September*, 1799.

FINIS.

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TO THE

# PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Attions & pseudos

TO THE

# PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

IN a diſcuſſion that agitates a whole nation, when all the paſſions are in tumult, ſome debating from principle, ſome from prejudice, and ſome from intereſt, the auditor muſt poſſeſs extraordinary ſagacity who can detect the ſubtleties of ſophiſtry and the arts of diſſimulation—he will be biaſſed by declamation, impoſed upon by hypocriſy, perplexed by prevarication.

If

If the love of country, ſo perpetually the patriot's boaſt, was really the motive that actuated him, he would no longer inveigh againſt a meaſure that was neither repugnant to his conſcience, nor contrary to his judgment; he would not, for any ſiniſter purpoſe, impede Ireland's aggrandiſement, and the amelioration of the condition of it's citizens.

We are tenacious of our independency, we cannot conſent that a nation which traces it's fancied monarchs up to the antideluvian era ſhould ſurrender it's honors, and conſolidate with England; but let us inveſtigate the real exiſtence and advantage of our boaſted preeminence. Who enjoys this independency? Does it reign in the metropolis or in the country? Is it among the citizens, or with the peaſantry? The cabins know no companions but want

and

and deſpondency; it is an intolerable ariſtocracy of a few individuals; a tyranny towards inferiors, and a venal ſubſerviency to ſuperiors.

We are a bold, an impetuous, and a ſanguine people; but our energy is tranſient as it is fierce; we have not the experience nor the perſeverance of the Engliſh. Our ports are centrical and commodious, but the tides ebb and flow without veſſels or trade; a ſtupendous cuſtom-houſe beautifies the city, and aſtoniſhes ſtrangers, but ſcarcely receives any duties; and no traffic enlivens it's ſpacious compartments—as if magnificence of architecture was affluence, and the arrogance of ariſtocracy was happineſs.

Our error and folly has become proverbial, there ſeems no amendment in our

our character; we get experience without benefit, and grow ancient without improvement. The arts which once duped us are repeated with impunity; the richneſs and fertility of Iriſh ſoil has been pompouſly ſounded, but the agricultural knowledge of Engliſhmen has rendered their country more prolific than ours. Without their ſpirit and perſeverance, our trade has languiſhed, and our local advantage become ineffectual. Our jealouſy paralizes progreſs; but the prudent Engliſh borrow from all nations, and improve on every invention.

Has a union brought on diſcontent and tumult? Has it cauſed rebellion and deſolation? Has it occaſioned that univerſal indigence that afflicts every cabin, and from generation to generation kept it's ponderous and irreſiſtable hand on the wretched Iriſh peaſantry? Theſe cala-

calamities have anticipated the union. Can any change or experiment plunge the country into greater miſery than it has ſuffered under the management of thoſe brawlers that clamor for the preſervation of their dominion? If their government had made us proſperous and happy, they might with reaſon adviſe us to continue under it; but what audacity and outrage is it to expect us to bear a power from which we know no effect but tyranny on the one ſide, and want and miſery on the other!

Is there no philanthropy in the breaſts of thoſe hypocrites, whoſe outcry of patriotiſm has no other deſign than private intereſt; who mock our miſeries by their pretended lamentation, and perpetuate them by their diſſimulation; whoſe ſubdolous oratory perplexes every argument, and fruſtrates every effort?

effort? We are incapable of combating artful reaſoning, but we would aſk, if a union is ſo pernicious, how came the Engliſh ſo proſperous under their preſent mode of legiſlation, and we ſo wretched under ours?

The freedom of the people of England is aſcribed to the decay of the feudal power, which once ſhackled and oppreſſed them. The progreſs of commerce rent the predominance of the ancient ſyſtem, and equalized the condition of the inhabitants; a union will invite them to this country, and their induſtry and ſpirit will produce a ſimilar effect.—Our ariſtocracy will no longer tyrannize over Ireland, and our populace be no longer diſcontented and wretched.

The

The country of Ireland ſeems compoſed but of two claſſes—of inſatiable landlords, and their cabin-tenants. The peaſant has ſtarved on the ſod he fertilized; whole generations, deprived by their poverty of loco motive power, have died on the ſpot that gave them birth. But the riches of traffic will annihilate this barbarous dominion, manufacture will occupy their numerous offſpring, and render the people independent of their relentleſs maſters.

When a vehement ſpeech is delivered, furious geſticulation and great vociferation made, we imagine the orator affected and ſincere; we are not aware that the firſt rudiments of eloquence are to feign what he does not feel, and to ſeduce the hearers by a various diſplay of the paſſions. But what would be the conſternation of the idolizers of this Proteus,

teus, if they were to trace him from the roſtrum to the Caſtle, and ſee him converting the honors of popularity into a proviſion for younger children, ſacrificing the intereſt of the nation for individual benefit? They never ſtudy what is prejudicial or advantageous to the people; but make obſtreperous oppoſition when there is no intereſt in acquieſcence, and accede when there is private remuneration.

An orator's eloquence is the barometer of his Caſtle negociation; it is vapid and lifeleſs when his petition is ſucceſsful, it is florid and paſſionate when it is rejected. There is no other meaning in the rhetoric of modern times. The Sydneys, Pyms and Hampdens are no more. Their ſpirit has evaporated, and their principles are perverted.—Theirs, were days of enthuſiaſm and ſimplicity, theſe

theſe, of artifice and [illegible]. But is juggle and hypocrify to delude us for ever? Are we never to be out of trammels, and judge for ourſelves? Shall we truſt aſſertion againſt fact, and declamation againſt our own obſervation?

Let us look round to Scotland, and ſee experience againſt hypotheſis, and proof againſt ſpeculation. Let us avow a truth, let us acknowledge that though we poſſeſs a prolific ſoil, our agricultural knowledge does not keep pace with nature's bounty. Though we are ſurrounded with a navigable ocean abounding with ſafe havens, yet we are almoſt ſtrangers to commerce; and though we are robuſt and healthy, we know not manufacture or induſtry—while England ſeems like a magnet to attract all the trade of Europe, and, like

like the magazine of the world, ſupplies every nation with her ſtores.—Their diligence, like magic, has made a ſterile ſoil exuberant, and compenſated for a partial element.

Why ſhould our rulers require longer time for experiment?—If their ſuperintendance has ſo many ages produced failure, diſappointment and wretchedneſs, what proſpect of amendment is there under the ſame ſyſtem?—Let us have recourſe to a change that promiſes affluence and happineſs.

A Union removes jealouſies of inequality. There will be no longer the invidious diſcriminating appellations of Iriſh and Engliſh. United by the ſame intereſts, poſſeſſing equal privileges, there can be no cauſe for diſtruſt or murmur.—A King and Parliament preſiding alike over

over both countries can have no motive to preference or diſtinction. The two countries will be no longer divided and diſtracted by oppoſite objects and views, but be conſolidated into the ſame intereſt and purſuit. The enemies of one iſland muſt be the enemies to both: the adverſary that menaces deſtruction to England will not be credited for proffers of fraternization to Ireland.

ATTICUS.

[No. I.]

A

# CAUTION

TO THE

# LOYAL INHABITANTS

OF

# *DUBLIN:*

BY A FREEMAN OF DUBLIN.

DUBLIN PRINTED.

1799.

TO THE

# LOYAL INHABITANTS

OF

# *DUBLIN.*

*Friends and Fellow-Citizens,*

IF there can be any thing that can beſpeak confidence in the appellations with which I accoſt you, by that I adjure you, through your ſeveral ranks and degrees, to give the following Letters a patient hearing, I have the ſame intereſt with you in the ſubject on which they treat. Do not conclude that, becauſe I may ſee it in a different light from that in which the generality of the inhabitants of your city ſeem to have conſidered it, I muſt be your enemy, and undeſerving of your attention. Profeſſing to be embarked in the ſame

bottom with you, I can do you no injury by deſiring you to hear what I have to urge in favour of my opinions. If I cannot induce you to think with me, you will be but where you are; and I will leave you to enjoy the triumph you have afforded to the oppoſers of an Union with England wherever they are to be found.

They who pretend to have ſtudied our natural character, repreſent us as a people that act firſt and then think. How you have *acted*, your country, I fear, will have long cauſe to remember—But if the period for your *thinking* be now arrived, it will be beſt employed in reviſing your paſt conduct; in reflecting on what you have done, and examining whether it is not poſſible that, having never conſidered the meaſure of an Union through any other medium than that of heat, and violence, and paſſion, you may not have ſacrificed your own beſt intereſts to the ſelfiſh and partial views of other men.

I will not enter into any aſperities againſt theſe men. In the utmoſt violence of enmity and reſentment, I could not wiſh them worſe than that their triumph might be final, and that they might be left to reap the fruits of their own conduct.

Still

Still leſs is it my intention to deal in any indiſcriminate cenſures of your general proceedings. There is every allowance to be made for you. In the firſt place you have been unfairly dealt with. What was a queſtion of reaſon, and reflection, and cool amicable diſcuſſion, you have been driven to conſider as a queſtion of paſſion, and anger, and vengeance: What was a queſtion of ſolid and laſting intereſts, involving the fate of yourſelves and your children, you have been driven to conſider as a queſtion of tranſient prejudices, and of partialities and antipathies that muſt change with every day.

In the next place, it is in the nature of ſuch queſtions as that which has ſo much agitated the public mind, that before they come to be fully explained, they give to thoſe, who, from intereſted or ſiniſter views, combine in oppoſing them, room to pre-diſpoſe the public mind againſt them, by falſe ſtatements, and to run down their ſupporters by popular clamor. Generally ſpeaking, deception has for a time the advantage in the conflict, and truth comes but ſlowly forward to ſet the controverſy in its true light.

To accompliſh this temporary triumph of paſſion over reaſon, and of raſhneſs and precipitancy over caution and deliberation, a few factious words, thrown in as oil to a flame, are ſufficient to produce an effect which it requires a long train of facts, and a lengthened chain of reaſoning to counteract and do away. Hence, that "we ſhould ſee the graſs grow in Sackville-"ſtreet, and ſhoot ſnipes in College-green," has excited an univerſal emotion from Kilmainham to the Pigeon-Houſe; and every oyſter-woman in the ſtreet complained that her trade was ruined, and that all the people of Dublin were to deſert it with its Parliament.

This, for theſe ſeveral weeks paſt has been the burden of all the inflammatory addreſſes, by which you, my friends and fellow citizens, have ſuffered yourſelves to be deceived and miſled. It has been inceſſantly dinned in your ears, that if you remove the Parliament, you ruin Dublin and convert it into a deſert. But to give this aſſertion any weight, your agitators ought to prove to you, that the preſent ſtate of your capital in buildings, in population and in wealth, has been owing entirely to its being the ſeat of Parliament —But no propoſition can be more demonſtratively

tively falſe. From a ſurvey made by order of Government in 1753, the encreaſe of inhabitants ſince 1711, was ſtated at 32,000.—From 1753 till 1782, there was ſtill a greater increaſe—yet during the whole of theſe two laſt periods, the Parliament aſſembled only once in two years—and that in general for a ſhort ſeſſion; and every ſecond winter the members of either Houſe were under no neceſſity of reſorting to the capital. We muſt, therefore, look for the cauſes of the flouriſhing ſtate of your city, in ſomething elſe beſides the mere circumſtance of having the ſeat of Parliament within its walls.

What theſe cauſes were, it requires no great depth of obſervation to trace. I ſhall claſs them, as they appear to me, under four principal heads.

1ſt. Till within a period of about ſixty years, our chief noblemen and our very wealthieſt commoners reſided chiefly at their country ſeats. Even the members of Parliament, during the ſhort period of their alternate ſeſſions, contented themſelves with lodgings, or took up their temporary reſidence in thoſe houſes, which, ſince your modern improvements in building, have been con-

ſigned to the better ſort of tradeſmen and mechanics. The middling gentry ſcarcely ever viſited the capital except when dragged to it by a lawſuit, or ſome buſineſs of unavoidable exigency; and it was then conſidered as a great diſtinction for a family to take lodgings in town for a Parliament winter.

But within the period I have mentioned, all this has been gradually changed;—The country is deſerted every winter, not only by our nobility and chief gentry, but by every family in what are called the genteeler ranks of life; and even among the wealthy of the other orders there is an emulation of the manners and cuſtoms of their betters that attracts them and their families into the ſame vortex of pleaſure and diſſipation.

2dly. The commerce of the country and its conſequent wealth have encreaſed within the ſame period to a degree ſeldom equalled in the annals of any People. Dublin has neceſſarily had its natural proportion in this encreaſe: Beſides the demands of its own inhabitants, whether ſettled or occaſional, it had the wealthieſt counties of the kingdom to ſupply with many of the articles of neceſſary conſumption, and with all the articles

of

of luxury and refinement, whether of domeſtic or foreign produce. From her vicinity to the Engliſh coaſt and other local circumſtances, ſhe almoſt entirely engroſſed all the objects of ſupply from Great Britain; and ſhe had, beſides, a monopoly of the many lucrative manufactures either eſtabliſhed of old within her precincts, or recently ſet up in her vicinity. In proportion as her merchants improved their fortunes, they left the inconvenient houſes, built in other days, for the mere purpoſes of buſineſs, to their clerks or their ſubordinate partners, and either built or purchaſed others more ſuited to their encreaſed fortunes. They crouded into the ſtreets and ſquares inhabited by perſons of the higheſt rank, and they vied with them in all their luxuries and their expenſive eſtabliſhments. The wealthier and the more enterpriſing ſhopkeepers were equally anxious, though with other views, to purſue the courſe of faſhion as it ſhifted its abodes. The Liberty and the Old City were left to new occupiers, and the builders could ſcarcely run up houſes with ſufficient celerity to anſwer the impatience of tradeſmen contending for a ſituation in the new ſtreets.

3dly. This increaſe of wealth cauſing an increaſe in the transfer and ſhifting of property of every

kind, neceſſarily multiplied the members of the Bar, and all that deſcription of perſons who live by the law. Theſe men with their families are, by their condition, obliged to reſide where the courts of law are permanent. They too, as they riſe, quit the quarters of the city inhabited of old by the profeſſion; they move from the old ſtreets to the new, and to the ſquares, in a gradual progreſs with their buſineſs, and the ſucceſſion, daily encreaſing in its numbers, is never known to fail. In their train appear their clients, collected from every part of the kingdom, leading after them all who are neceſſary to their reſpective cauſes; and this great influx rolls inceſſantly into your capital at ſtated periods throughout the year.

4thly, You have a Vice Regal Court eſtabliſhed in the center of your city, of very great ſtate and ſplendour, ſuch as becomes the dignity of the nation. In all the eſtabliſhments connected with this Court, whether civil or military; in the different public offices, the Exchequer, the Treaſury, the Cuſtoms, the Poſt-Office; in the great directing departments of the Army; in the various Boards as well for general purpoſes, as for the internal regulation of the city, in ſhort, in what ever is connected with the Government, the

Revenue,

Revenue, the Police of the country all have encreaſed in proportion to its proſperity, all have contributed to the preſent extent, beauty and population of the capital.

Theſe I take to be among the principal cauſes of your preſent flouriſhing ſtate, and to prove that you are to be affected by removing the ſeat of Parliament, as your agitators pretend, they muſt prove that the Union is calculated to affect theſe cauſes, and interrupt their operation.

Now let us ſee how this matter ſtands, and in proceeding with you in the enquiry, I will reverſe the order in which I have placed theſe heads.

The Union, as we are aſſured by thoſe, who are moſt in the confidence of government, is to make no change in the eſtabliſhment of your Vice Regal Court. It is ſtill to adorn your city, and to remain amongſt you in all its ſtate and all its ſplendor. It will ſtill continue to draw into its circle the rank and the faſhion, the gaity and the amuſement that contribute their part in giving employment to your tradeſmen and manufacturers. You are to have your Exchequer, your Treaſury, your Civil and War Offices, your Poſt-Office and Cuſtoms,

Cuſtoms, in all their higheſt as well as their loweſt offices, in all the numerous ramifications into which they branch out. The various departments connected with the regulation the clothing and the victualling of the Army, and the ſeveral Boards they include, all theſe will remain amongſt you, but with this difference that inſtead of being obliged to ſupport an Army eſtabliſhment of our own, out of our own revenues, and at our particular expence, we ſhall only contribute to ſupport the general Army of the united kingdom in a proportion to our means and the ſtate of our public income.

You ſtill muſt have your Courts of Law ſtationary in your capital. Its great Officers, with all their train, its Judges, its members of every name and deſcription, muſt neceſſarily continue to reſide amongſt you. No other Court can take cognizance, in the firſt inſtance, of your private rights, or your private claims—conſequently the ſame influx of claimants and litigants will continue to pour in regularly from every part of the kingdom into your ſtreets. The only alteration that we hear propoſed is in the appeals to the High Court of Parliament—a regulation of very inconſiderable moment to the point we are now diſcuſſing, but at which,

which, I will venture to ſay every man of property in the kingdom will rejoice.

With reſpect to your commerce, your trade, and your manufactures, I have heard much declamation, but not a word of inveſtigation, detail, or proof. Your Merchants and your Bankers were, indeed, among the firſt to aſſemble, and declare their opinions on the projected Union. — They have given to the public, with all due form and ſolemnity, the Reſolutions, on which they agreed. You would naturally have expected that they would have entered into ſome inveſtigation of the trade of the country, as it is likely to be effected by the Union. That they would have told you how the mercantile or banking intereſts are to be injured by it. Not a word of the kind appears throughout the whole of their proceedings. They begin, indeed, by an abſtract propoſition which it required none of thoſe ghoſts to tell you, "that the commerce of Ireland and her manufac- "tures have improved beyond example ſince the "year 1782." But inſtead of drawing any conſequence from this propoſition bearing upon the great queſtion, they go on with a ſtring of political * maxims,

* The perſon who propoſed theſe Reſolutions is certainly of a moſt reſpectable connexion. But the importance of this queſtion

maxims, and preſcribe the form of all thoſe violent and inflammatory reſolutions that threaten to diſturb the peace of your families, and, without the interference of cooler heads and wiſer men, to deluge your ſtreets with blood.

But I would aſk their conſummate and experienced ſtateſmen, to what it is that Ireland owes this unexampled encreaſe in her commerce and manufacture. They ſhould have gone back many years to ſearch for its origin. They ſhould have gone back to the period, when England gave us the monopoly of her market for our linen trade, and opened the firſt ſprings of our national wealth and proſperity. They ſhould have gone back to the conceſſions made by Lord North in 1780, when England opened to us the commerce of her colonies. Theſe colonies were the purchaſe of her own blood, the acquiſition of her own treaſures, the work of her own induſ-

tion requires us to ſpeak out. He is intimately connected with a houſe in London that has the monopoly of the transfer of the Loans negotiated in England for this country, and of other money tranſactions between the two kingdoms, which muſt all ceaſe with an Union. This requires no comment. I may in ſome future addreſs lay before you ſome other conſiderations that will account to you for the violence with which the Union is oppoſed by almoſt all our Bankers. Conſiderations, every one of which operates againſt your general intereſts.

try-

try. Their ſettlement or their maintenance had never coſt us a farthing. They were the ſole offspring of England, nurtured and matured by her into a ſtate of manhood, and ſhe had entered into ſuch a compact with them as that relation authoriſed. She engaged herſelf to purchaſe their commodities, to the excluſion of all ſimilar productions in every other country, and they pledged themſelves in return to carry their commodities to no other market but her's.

Such was the connection which, by every principle of juſtice, by the law of nations, and by the cuſtom of all the other powers of Europe has been univerſally acknowledged to ſubſiſt between the mother country and her colonies. A trade with them of any kind, or to any extent was, therefore, a favour granted to Ireland, and to that favour the meeting of the Merchants ought to have referred, as one of the principal ſources of the advantages which they ſo highly extol, and in which your capital has ſhared beyond any other part of the kingdom.

But there are ſeveral other circumſtances ſubſequent to the year 1782, all originating in the conceſſions of England, to which your Merchants might

might have referred for this flouriſhing ſtate of your trade and manufacture. They ought to have referred to that great triumph of the anxiety of England for the welfare of Ireland over her moſt ancient prejudices, when ſhe relaxed the ſyſtem of her navigation laws in our favour, and permitted the productions of her colonies to be imported through Ireland into her home market. They ought to have referred to the conceſſions made relative to the manufacture of ſail cloth, from which the country promiſes to derive, and has already derived ſuch extenſive benefit.

All theſe conceſſions, producing all the advantages to which you are to aſcribe the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of your capital, your political meeting of merchant agitators would make you conclude were not conceſſions, but extortions from England. They would repreſent them, as conqueſts gained over her, by the exertions of your countrymen, when they aſſerted the independence of your legiſlature. But, in the firſt place, if you had had no independent legiſlature you would have been many years previous to the year 1782 in poſſeſſion of theſe and every other ſource of wealth connected with the commerce of England. There would have been no

room

room for demands on one ſide, or conceſſions on the other—the whole would have been yours as it was England's. The wiſe policy of Cromwell had prepared theſe bleſſings for you; and had not the Union he accompliſhed between the three kingdoms, as the moſt effectual means his great and comprehenſive mind could deviſe to ſecure their ſolid and permanent intereſts, been unfortunately included among the regulations of this the moſt ſagacious of all politicians which were ſet aſide at the reſtoration, we ſhould have experienced none of the miſeries that have ſo long retarded the advancement of our country.

But, in the next place, nothing can be more illiberal or unfounded than this repreſentation of your Merchants, in the extent in which they ſeem to wiſh you to underſtand it. The monopoly of the linens, the commerce with the colonies, theſe great and primary ſources of the unexampled progreſs of your trade and manufacture, were given to you before the year of your legiſlative emancipation. The relaxation of the navigation ſyſtem, the liberty of carrying the productions of the colonies into the Engliſh market through Ireland, the regulations reſpecting

ing the ſail-cloth manufacture, were all the ſpontaneous offer of the Engliſh Miniſters reſiding amongſt you. They were conceſſions which they ſaw were due to you in juſtice and found policy; they were extorted by no compulſion, no menace from your Parliament, no alarming ſtate of the public mind reſpecting theſe meaſures.

But ſuppoſing the inſinuation to be founded; ſuppoſing that all theſe unexampled advantages, had been extorted from Great Britain—What then?—How would this affect the preſent queſtion?—How are you to be deprived of them by the projected Union? They were extorted from England—granted—but England now comes forward with a voluntary offer to ratify and confirm them to you for ever. They have all * been granted under certain regulations and conditions; they are revocable by the ſame power that granted them—ſhe now comes forward with a propoſal ſo to mix and blend all our political and

* The Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in his anſwer to the meeting of the county of Louth, aſſerts that it is by preſerving our independent Parliament that we can alone preſerve the monopoly of the Engliſh market for our Linens; as if this monopoly could be granted or ſecured by any other than the Engliſh Parliament; as if our two Houſes could compel England to continue it to us.

commercial

commercial intereſts together, as never hereafter to leave any room for thoſe jealouſies and miſ-underſtandings which have ſo often ſubſiſted, and, in the councils and proceedings of your agitators, at this moment ſubſiſts between the two countries to change or abrogate them. She offers to make them as much our own as they are her own; to inveſt us with as an unaliena-ble a right in them, as ſhe herſelf poſſeſſes, and to impart to us a full independent poſſeſſion, not only of thoſe, but all the other benefits of that trade, which has raiſed her to her preſent unparalleled pre-eminence among the nations of Europe, and has made her the wonder and the envy of the world.

What theſe further commercial benefits are which are offered to us by the Union, and in which this City is more peculiarly intereſted, I ſhall ſubmit to you in my next addreſs.

A FREEMAN OF DUBLIN.

# INDEPENDENCE.

DISGUISE THYSELF AS THOU WILT, STILL SLAVERY!—STILL THOU ART A BITTER DRAUGHT.

*STERNE.*

LET NO LIBERAL MIND HOARD ITS LITERARY TALENT, AND SORDIDLY WITH-HOLD WHAT SHOULD RECEIVE PUBLIC CIRCULATION.

*ANTI-UNION.*

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR W. M'KENZIE, 33, COLLEGE-GREEN.

1799.

# INDEPENDENCE.

FORLORN Ierne! once the ſeat of joy,
While peace gave toil and induſtry employ,
Thy fields rais'd flax, thy cities ſpun and wove,
Thy wealth abounded, and thy commerce throve;
Young Independence * trampled foreign awe,
And Freedom's glories crown'd the head of law.

* What this conſiſts in may appear from the Addreſs of the Commons to his Majeſty in the year 1782, wherein they declare, "That his Subjects of Ireland are a free People, that the Crown of Ireland is an Imperial Crown, inſeparably annexed to the Crown of Great Britain, on which connexion the intereſts and happineſs of both nations eſſentially depend: but that the kingdom of Ireland is a diſtinct kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the ſole Legiſlature thereof; that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; nor any other Parliament which hath any authority or power of any ſort whatſoever in this country, ſave only the Parliament of Ireland. They aſſure his Ma-

Thy Sons more bleſt than ſuited Man's degree,
Bold, virtuous, learn'd, induſtrious, rich and free;
Rever'd with faithful warmth and filial fire,
Britain and George, their ſafe-guard and their ſire;
Sire all-belov'd, for whom theſe limbs would brave
Toil, hardſhip, famine, danger, and the grave:
Better two wealthy iſles ſhould own thy ſway,
Than *that* but cities, *this* but wilds diſplay;
*That* ſwarm with men, and *this* no dweller know,
Save her old Wolf-dog * and his ſavage foe.
Prince, Friend, and Father, ſcorn to be miſled,
Nor deem our bleſſings forfeited, tho' fled;
True, they retir'd from battles and alarms,
The pike of treaſon, and invaſion's arms:
But quiet comes, and in her ſhelt'ring wings,
The bliſsful fugitives returning brings;
Soon ſhall our ſcenes once more be ſcenes of joy,
If thoſe that watch them watch not to deſtroy;

jeſty, that they humbly conceive, that in this right the very eſſence of their Liberties did exiſt; a right which they, on the part of the People of Ireland, do claim as their birth-right, and which they cannot yield but with their lives."

Oh! conſider this, ye that forget.——

*Pſalm* 50, 22.

* Their ſpecies was peculiar to Ireland, but is at preſent nearly extinct, having dwindled away in the ſame proportion as the Wolves, which they ſo much contributed to exterminate; though as they were her ancient, they are likely to become her modern inhabitants.

If all our dearest hopes are not undone,
That Independence which our Fathers won *;
That Constitution †, our eternal right,
For which their Sons have fought, and still must fight.

" Why, Brother, why, (Hibernia might exclaim)
Why, Albion! cherish thy incestuous flame?
Thy Sister loves thee; in thy cause has bled;
Still clasps thee fondly, but will never wed.

* It has become so prevalent of late, for English Gentlemen who publish pamphlets, to assume the stile and title of Irishmen, that the above passage (notwithstanding the words *our fathers*) convinces me, that this Poem has been written by a Poetaster of the former nation; for no Irishman would say our Independence was won, however it might have been maintained, as he must know, that for the 600 years his Country has been connected with Great Britain, she has been as independent, as during the ages she flourished previous thereto, notwithstanding the unity of their Crowns; and I shall support this opinion to the world, until it is clearly and substantially proved, that the Author means that our Fathers won the acknowledgement of that Independence, and not what was already in their possession.

J. Reland.

† Here the Author speaks sense and like an Irishman; for it must be acknowledged, that our Fathers' Sons have fought with very good success for their " eternal Right;" and if they still must fight for it, God send them the same success, and the traitors that would deprive them of it, the same discomfiture that he conferred on the late desperate, though not more dangerous enemies of the Constitution, the Rebels and Republicans.

Idem.

Haſt thou no honour, feeling, or remorſe?
And wilt thou, impious! raviſh me by force?
Such monſtrous ſpouſals muſt in nature burſt,
By me deteſted, and by Heav'n accurſt."

Of age delib'rate, or of headlong youth,
What Iriſh heart but feels and owns this truth;
That cloſer union * muſt thoſe iſles diſſever,
Or prove, alas! our Country's curſe for ever.
This truth, as certain and as ſtrong as fate,
Demands no reaſon to ſupport its weight;
No pamphlets, eſſays, letters, or replies,
By daily thouſands to oppreſs our eyes;
No table-clamours, ranting, or haranguing,
To ſtun our half-crack'd ears with endleſs clanging;
But all-convincing, ev'n the wretch perſuades,
Whoſe conſcience his corrupted tongue upbraids,
Come, then! ſince argument will nought avail,
A tale I'll tell, or ſomething like a tale.

Acroſs the channel, I may ſay next door,
Two neighbours liv'd, one rich, and neither poor;
A thouſand coaſts the merchant's wealth ſupply'd,
His home-ſpun linen form'd the draper's pride;

* This verſe is ſufficient evidence, that the Author is an Iriſhman. No Engliſhman in the three Kingdoms could be guilty of ſuch a bull.

JOHN BULL.

This with content enjoy'd his humble ſtore,
That much poſſeſſing, ſtill would graſp at more.
His fellow's trade he ſaw with jealous eye,
His growing riches with a wiſhful ſigh;
Envious, his *Independence* hop'd to wreck,
Riſe on his fall, and tread upon his neck;
Yet ſmooth he ſpoke, tho' plotting ſchemes like theſe,
Tho' haughty, civil, and tho' falſe, at eaſe.

" Brother, (he ſaid) thy ſons, a lawleſs throng,
Aſſail'd thee ſudden, and aggriev'd thee long;
Foes to themſelves and thee, they ſtill contend,
To guide thy bus'neſs, and thy profits ſpend:
Children thou haſt unnatural and fierce,
Whoſe deſp'rate ſwords thy boſom ſought to pierce;
But ſoon thy faithful Sons ſuppreſt the riot,
And I ſent mine *, a few to keep *all* quiet:
But ſent in vain, for ne'er thy feuds will ceaſe,
While thus thy trade, thy wealth, thy Sons encreaſe.

* It is hoped and expected, that this Gentleman's Sons will have more ſenſe and generoſity, than to be a reſtraint on the faithful part of their neighbour's Family, who had ſuppreſt the riot, which was the inducement of their viſit, before they arrived; and as there is nothing left for them to do but miſchief, it is recommended to them to return home to their unneighbourly Father, without gratifying his avarice and ambition at the expence of their own humanity and honour.

J. Reland.

Truſt all to me, and peacefulneſs is thine,
Soon ſhall thy Sons, thy wealth, thy trade decline:
I'll keep thy books, I'll regulate thy purſe,
*O'erlook* thy wants, and leave thee *nought* to curſe;
Unleſs our int'reſts claſh, be ſtill thy friend,
Nor take a guinea but I mean to ſpend;
And wert thou crown'd with bleſſings yet unknown,
Believe me, I'd enjoy them as *my own.*
*Wiſer* than thou, I'm clear our *mutual* gains
Require us to *conſolidate* our means;
We then our credits, debts, and caſh unite,
Thine becomes mine *, and mine is *mine by right*;

* The impudence of modern plagiariſts is aſtoniſhing! Could it be thought, that from the concluding paragraph of my pamphlet, from the moſt ſtudied and laborious effort of my pen, a man could be barefaced enough to extract an idea, nay the very language I had uſed, compare them, and be aſtoniſhed: "The latter, (viz. Ireland being entirely united with England) by making her power the power of Great Britain, and the power of Great Britain *her own*, would enable the Britiſh empire to defy every hoſtile attack." Let him not pretend to ſay, *Fas eſt & ab hoſte doceri.*

Mr. Cooke.

The Author aſſures Mr. Cooke, upon the honour of a Gentleman, that the verſe he alludes to was written before he had read his pamphlet; but is not at all aſtoniſhed, that the ſame thought (which is the moſt natural that could occur) ſhould preſent itſelf to different minds, employed on the ſame intereſting ſubject.

More rich, more ſtrong, with ſtill more ſcorn I'll frown
On all the furious rivals of the town.
Yon grave old Don, that trafficks but in gold,
This boor in ſpices ſmoke and riches roll'd;
And he, whoſe claret ſcarce ſupports his ſhop,
Yon haughty, beggar'd, democratic fop."

The honeſt draper bore the great man's pride,
Check'd his diſguſt, and patiently reply'd:
" As I have liv'd, I'll live, my gentle neighbour!
Still thine, with all my friendſhip, help and labour;
But am no fool, for ages or an hour,
To ſell my birth-right, or reſign my pow'r.
Soon would my bleach-greens loſe their ſnowy hue,
When toil, with freedom, from my looms withdrew;
My mills, my works, ſoon rot without repair,
If thine the purſe, and only mine the care.
Silly the man who gives his cards away,
To him whoſe bets muſt prompt diſhoneſt play.
Silly, who in his neighbour's chimney throws
His fuel, and his own cold fingers blows;
Or truſts his piſtol to the robber's hand,
Who'll ſtrip him e'er he makes a ſtranger ſtand.
Silly the ſuicide, whoſe frantic arm
Shakes off life's ev'ry bliſs, and ev'ry charm;

Nay, ſacred life, and by falſe reas'ning flamm'd,
Damns ev'n himſelf—*If I do, I'll be damn'd* *."

So ends my tale, and better without quere,
End with abruptneſs, than with method weary:
But vain my moral, vain my humble ſong,
Tho' all approve, if ſenates think them wrong.
Hear then, ye ſenates! nor contemn thoſe lays,
My Country's voice, and not my own, I raiſe;
Princes and Peers! whoſe noble current ſprings
From chiefs renown'd, and Erin's ancient Kings.
*They* liv'd or dy'd but for their Country's good;
Oh! let not treaſon now corrupt their blood!
Treaſon moſt foul, unlike a human crime,
Its cureleſs miſchiefs but encreaſe by time.

* Another proof the Author is an Iriſhman.

JOHN BULL.

It would be of vaſt uſe to this Author, if he, among the reſt of his uncivilized and impolitic Countrymen, were put to ſchool to a people who are, in general, the moſt civilized, the moſt obedient to law, the moſt honeſt in dealing, the moſt decent in morals, the moſt regular in religion, of any people in Europe.—*Bedherſhin.*

Mr. SAMPSON.

Leinſter! thou may'ſt have greatneſs if thou wilt,
Tho' late, too ſlow to cruſh rebellious guilt;
But make amends, and with thy ſtrength oppoſe
The People's, as thou ought'dſt the Monarch's foes.

Think, Delapoer, thy dignity and ſtate,
Flouriſh or wither with thy Country's fate:
Downſhire and Shannon *, in one fatal hour
Muſt fall your greatneſs, and your public pow'r.
Thou, Ely, win a patriot's honeſt name,
And think without it other titles ſhame.
But thou, Fitzwilliam, wouldſt to Britiſh ſhires
Tranſport in ſwarms our nobles, knights and 'ſquires,
That their abſconding might abet, tho' vile,
Thy mean deſertion of thy native iſle.

* This Nobleman, though he has received no applauſe in the Text, ſhall not be without it in the Comment, for his manly oppoſition to the Union, and particularly for his ſpirited reſignation of his offices. Sir John Parnell ſhould be proud to be the firſt victim the enemies of his Country ſacrificed for being her friend. We ſhall ſoon ſee many reſpectable names in the ſame liſt with his; and, from the greateſt to the humbleſt, they deſerve eternal honour. The meaneſt within the reach of Adminiſtration are afraid to declare their ſentiments; but, for my part, I congratulate myſelf, that I have nothing to tremble for but my halbert. I received it from my fellow-ſoldiers with pleaſure, as it was a proof they thought I did my duty; and if I am deprived of it for doing my duty, with the ſame pleaſure ſhall I reſign it, and my life with it, rather than exiſt longer than my Country.

Oh! ye, whoſe pride would ſhrink from bribes of gold,
Whoſe honeſty for honours muſt be ſold;
When will ye learn to deem ſuch traffic baſe,
And call thoſe honours by their name, DISGRACE?

Too many their illuſtrious rank forget,
Their ſecret duty, and their public debt;
Yet more, ſure, more preſerve their ancient pride,
Honour their guardian, patriot-zeal their guide.
Were virtue greatneſs, greateſt in degree,
All eyes repoſe, old Charlemont, on thee:
Oh! could the ſtrength of eighteen winters paſt,
Re-nerve that breaſt whoſe virtues ſtrength outlaſt;
Age all thy fault, that fault while we deplore,
We venerate for age, our bulwark more;
Long it endures aſſaulting foes to brave,
And as it ever ſav'd us, yet ſhall ſave.

Thou, Enniſkillen, injur'd as thou art,
And Pow'rſcourt, thou ſhalt act a patriot's part:
Carhampton ſtill ſhall prove the nation's ſhield,
And, in the ſenate failing, dare the field.

Oh! that with theſe my faultring muſe could name
Two gen'rous ſons, of nobleneſs and fame,

Gallant Mountjoy, O'Neill of heroes ſprung,
Whoſe Country's cauſe no more ſhall prompt their tongue,
Nor rouſe their ſword; yet claims ſhe no arrear,
They've paid with life a debt ſhe'd gladly ſpare.
Curſt be the hands that aim'd the fatal blow,
Which laid the guardians of Ierne low;
Not for her wrongs Ierne's tears are ſhed,
Wrongs claim avengers, and her chief are dead.

Nor ſhall the Commons force or virtue want,
Steadfaſt our Patriots, tho' of numbers ſcant:
Foſter in office leſs than worth preſides,
And gives a leſſon that to honour guides;
Ye circling throng, ſurvey an honeſt man,
And copying him, be honeſt if you can;
His hand the linſeed ſow'd, and from the earth,
Water'd by him, our commerce had its birth;
From him our wealth, our bleſſings we derive,
And ſtill thro' him ſhall triumph and ſhall thrive.

Latouche, in whom the ſocial virtues blend,
The rich man's pattern, and the poor man's friend;
Oft raiſing Erin's drooping Sons to eaſe,
That arm the drooping Mother now muſt raiſe.

His Country's friend *one* Beresford ſhall prove,
And Claudius win and wear his Country's love;

For her what nights he watch'd, what days he toil'd!
Nor yet ſhall ſleep 'till all her foes are foil'd.
Young Faulkner *firſt* the People's ſenſe to court;
And Ball their pride, inſtructer and ſupport;
Nor ſhall Macartney * ſhame his vet'ran band,
Nor heap diſhonour on his native land.
Thou, Browne *, aſſert, with elocution's charms,
What prompts the ſeat of learning and of arms.
Did Sauren's * hidden brightneſs blaze with thine,
The ſhadow'd Senate ſhould with luſtre ſhine;
Her ſtubborn yield to truth, her dull diſcern,
And thoſe who frame her laws the law might learn †.

* Theſe three Gentlemen had the honour of commanding Corps, which though they could not exceed their fellow-yeomen in ſpirit, always ſet them an example of diſcipline, moderation, and exertion, in ſuppreſſing the rebellion. They have already taken the lead, though more as civil than military men, to declare their oppoſition to the Union. Two of their Commanders are in Parliament, and it is a national loſs that the third is not their coadjutor there as in the field, as it is certain they would all co-operate to put in effect the ſentiments of their different Corps. But it is recommended to every body of Yeomanry in this kingdom, under the command of a Member of Parliament, ſhould he be ſo baſe as to ſell his voice, (and no man can vote for a Union from principle) without heſitation to turn the coat he had diſgraced, and drum him out of the Regiment he had ſcandalized.

† If one houſe wants any little inſtruction on this head, the other wants it no leſs, as appeared on a late occaſion (to the aſto-

But Plunket, e'er our ſtruggling rights expire,
Thy eloquence ſhall ſcatter bolts of fire;
Ariſe! young genius girds thy head with bays,
And honour crowns with intermingled rays.

Duignan, the cauſe of Proteſtants * you propt,
Proceed, the cauſe of Iriſhmen adopt:
Nay, ſtart not, Ogle, 'tis the cauſe of all,
And Catholics, *our allies*, ſtand or fall;
Our love as men and brothers they deſerve,
And muſt enjoy, unleſs they falſely ſwerve;
Benign and juſt, our breaſt no rancour knows,
Friends to all ſects, and but to rebels foes.

niſhment and indignation of the untitled Brothers of the Bench) from the opinion of three law Lords, which was contradictory as much to Common Senſe as Common Law; but two of them, though worthy men, grow old, and begin to doat, but the third, their junior, though not their inferior in dignity, was never in any inſtance taxed with *doating*—on matters of any moment to this Country.

I. Reland.

* This is peculiarly the cauſe of the Clergy, but it is now plain what Mr. Cooke would infer by ſaying, "that to point out the advantages of an Union to the Clergy would be loſt labour indeed." By the Clergy he means the B—s, and it would be *loſt labour indeed* to perſuade thoſe, who will comply without perſuaſion.

Anon.

But ſhould one ſect, more daring than the reſt,
Spurn our aſcendance *, or our peace moleſt,
Ev'n now, tho' rank oppreſſion threats our coaſts,
Thro' groves of pikes we'd cruſh their guilty hoſts.

Ogle, beware! I glory in thy faith,
And rev'rence brows where virtue laid her wreath;
But raſhly fear not that our faith requires,
The loſs of all that bleſt our free born ſires:
Ruſh foes, oppreſſors, ruſh on ev'ry ſide,
And Luther's ſons ſhall trample on your pride.

Ye worthleſs ſenators, unwiſe, unjuſt,
Who foſter'd treaſon, and forgot your truſt;
Vote as your vices ſway, the Muſe diſdains,
With names like yours to ſoil her honeſt ſtrains.

* The Proteſtant aſcendance muſt always exiſt, while the Proteſtant religion is the eſtabliſhed religion of the kingdom; and it is not over one, but over every ſect that it extends; and were all ſects to acknowledge alike the ſupremacy of the King, and deny the right of a foreign Potentate to intermeddle with our eccleſiaſtical, which are inſeparably interwoven with our civil affairs, theſe ſects, though on an equality with each other, would yet be inferior to the eſtabliſhed religion, whoſe aſcendance it would be as criminal to ſpurn or overthrow, as the Legiſlature itſelf.

Grattan, triumphant in Hibernia's cauſe,
You once receiv'd Hibernia's loud applauſe;
Oh! that you ſtill deſerv'd a Patriot's name,
And ſtill purſu'd your former road to fame;
With pride the Muſe had giv'n your talents praiſe,
Free as the tear ſhe to your folly pays.

More niggard ſhe of cenſure than applauſe,
Suſpects no villain *, till he gives her cauſe;

* It is not without pride and ſelf-ſatisfaction the Muſe acknowledges, that ſhe will not ſuſpect until ſuſpicion changes its name to certainty, that a man whom ſhe has always contemplated with affection as a friend of Ireland, with veneration as the equitable diſpenſer of her Laws, and with both as the warmeſt ſupporter of her Conſtitution, ſhould ſo far forget his own dignity, which added ſo much to the dignity of his Country, as to co-operate, at the expence of the one and the other, with a foreign miniſter to enſlave her; and either through the fear of being deprived of his elevated poſt, or the hope of an enormous compenſation, reſign that honour which ſhe thought above the influence of hopes and fears like thoſe, and give way to a corruption of which ſhe ſuppoſed him incapable. But in ſpite of report, in ſpite of public opinion, ſhe will not ſuſpect him.

CLIO.

How have I been deceived!

GOLDSMITH.

But when the culprits can no longer hide,
Her ſcorpion laſh * ſhall rend their boſoms wide.

But to your charge ye ſtill *diſcreet* and *fit*,
Did Erin's ſons a ſacred truſt commit;
A truſt whoſe meaneſt title ſtrikes with awe,
Her Independence, Freedom, Faith and Law:
Much pow'r to bleſs they yielded to your ſway,
But none to give the pow'r they gave away.
Then claim no rights but thoſe you may enjoy,
Nor dare our Realm's *exiſtence* † to deſtroy;

* If, in ſpite of the patriotic oppoſition, there ſhall be a majority in favour of a Union, it is the Author's intention to publiſh a Raſcaliad, in imitation of Mr. Pope's Dunciad, in which ſhall be depicted in the moſt maſterly manner his miſtreſs the Muſe is capable of, the character of every Member of ſuch majority, together with his reaſons and inducements for betraying the Conſtitution of his Country; and "it is a conſummation devoutly wiſhed, and ſuddenly expected," as Mr. Cooke or Mr. Sampſon elegantly quoteth, that a ſimilar Epiſode to the Fleet-ditch divers may be furniſhed without fiction by the mobility of Dublin, who ſhall be very well warranted in teaching the future heroes of the Raſcaliad, to emulate thoſe of the Dunciad in a ſimilar exerciſe in the river Liffey.

† From the wretched ſtate of Ireland before her Independence was acknowledged, we may judge what is to be her lot if that Independence is annihilated. "The firſt cauſe of our miſery is

With equal juſtice, and as free from crime,
Might each, ſelf-ſlaughter'd, fall before his time;
And baſely his corrupted carcaſe leave,
To hungry worms, opprobrium, and the grave.
Yet all were well, were your deſtruction all,
But more ſhall periſh than at Sampſon's fall;
Our burſting pillars in the ſhock be raz'd,
And bury'd millions grovel in the waſte.

But if ambition warps your little mind,
Still to uſurp a right to curſe your kind *;

the intolerable hardſhips we lie under in every branch of our trade, by which we are become as hewers of wood and drawers of water to our rigorous neighbours; and the ſecond, is the folly, the vanity, and ingratitude of thoſe vaſt numbers, who think themſelves too good to live in the Country which gave them birth, and ſtill gives them bread; and rather chuſe to paſs their days, and conſume their wealth, and draw out the very vitals of their Mother Kingdom among thoſe who heartily deſpiſe them.

SWIFT.

* Should the Caſtle Spectre appear again, to the aſtoniſhment and diſturbance of the country, it is probable the public will unite to lay *it* in the Poddle-hole (the Red Sea being rather too remote for the purpoſe); but even this would be ſo great an occaſion of public rejoicing, that our Union Jack ſhould be hung in due form out of Bedford Tower, in the place of the Caſtle Flag, the more ſincerely to celebrate our triumph over this bugbear of the nation.

ANON.

Are ye ſo ſunk? Our realm had pride of old—
To ſell your Country's truſt for Engliſh gold!
Engliſh? Ah! no, Ierne's wealth muſt pay
'Th' inſatiate men, that bind her and betray:
Herſelf unhappy! from her treach'rous tribe
Muſt purchaſe ſhame and ruin with a bribe!

Can wealth that ſullies, * honours that debaſe,
Ye conſcript Fathers, buy your conſcience peace?
Will not remorſe your haraſs'd boſom tear,
To ſee your Country pine from year to year?
When to penurious want her commerce yields,
And deſerts ſweep her cities and her fields;
When public virtue has for ever died,
As public virtue muſt with public pride;

* It is currently reported, that the Earl of Sh—n, for his unexampled *ſteadineſs*, (for the proofs of which ſee page 11) is to be created Marquis of All-points and Duke of Weathervane.

ANON.

Under this head may be alſo mentioned a loſs *gained* by Lord O——d, who unfortunately pawned his honour for a Dukedom with a broker who is on the point of *failure*, and as neither the pawn nor the value is forthcoming, it is thought his would-be Grace muſt remain his diſappointed Lordſhip for the remainder of his days, unleſs the people are fooliſh enough, by another rebellion, to give the brokers of honour a ſimilar opportunity of making a ſimilar offer.

ANON.

And lonely Banchees * howl along the ſhore,
" Imperial Ireland, art thou then no more ?"

Lo! on the altar high with billets crown'd,
The naked Country lies like Iſaac bonnd;
Her Fathers (ah! no faithful Fathers) ſeize,
The panting victim, and the knife upraiſe.
Wilt thou, *Almighty*, wilt thou not command,
Thy ſwift-wing'd Angel to arreſt their hand;
And o'er the earth ſuch ſacrifice decree,
Hateful in man, and *horrible* to thee ?

* Theſe extraordinary beings, whoſe exiſtence hath been doubted in great and incredulous cities, but which is univerſally believed in all other parts of this kingdom and Scotland, (in confirmation of which the evidence of ſeveral very credible nurſes, and other well-informed old women, equally reſpectable for their marvellous veracity and wiſe heads, may be obtained for the ſatisfaction of the curious) are in their nature and appearance in ſome reſpects like a witch, in others like a mermaid; but their office is peculiar to themſelves, and conſiſts in bewailing deaths, ſometimes before and ſometimes after they happen: and when one of theſe extraordinary apparitions is ſeen under a hedge, or over a ſtile, combing her long grey locks in a ſolemn lugubrious melancholy manner; or is heard at midnight, howling as the Engliſh, or keening, as the Iriſh call it, it is an undiſputed fact, that the death will ſoon follow, which is thus comically lamented beforehand.

I. Reland.

But let their op'ning eyes behold, unſought,
A fitter off'ring in the thicket caught.
Ceaſe then, your wicked immolation ceaſe,
Unbind your victim, and with joy releaſe!
Lo! by the horns a ſtruggling ram is held,
Be he dragg'd forth, and at the altar fell'd;
Virtue once more her jubilee ſhall keep,
And men with tranſport at the off'ring weep;
Angels, if touch'd at human bliſs, be pleas'd,
And *God* with ſmiles confeſs his wrath appeas'd:
Seize, ſeize your victim, round your temple riſe,
*Corruption*---ſtrike, oh! ſtrike, *Corruption* dies.

But if reſolv'd to ſcorn the voice of God,
And bow your iſle to thankleſs Britain's rod;
Her bleſſings baniſh to another ſhore,
Whence, as from death, they can return no more:
Your injur'd Childrens' future curſe deſpiſe,
And diſregard a living nation's cries;
May purer Patriots win ev'n your applauſe,
And dare, to ſave by legal *force* *, the Laws.

* Thoſe who from *perſonal privileges*, or by virtue of a *commiſſion from the people*, are intruſted with the active part of government, as they ſee themſelves expoſed to public view, and obſerved by men who place in them but a *conditional truſt*, they are afraid of exciting a commotion, which would ſurely and immediately prove their deſtruction; and if they ſhould reſolve a-

Ye honour'd ſhades of Erin's Volunteers!
(Since ye were men how ſhort the courſe of years!)
Events arrive your ſolemn ſleep to break,
Ariſe! to deeds like yours your Sons awake!
Thou from their glorious hoſt, my ſainted Sire,
This breaſt with patriotic ſtrength inſpire!
My guardian, hadſt thou not too early died,
Thou wouldſt, oh! ſtill be, ever at my ſide!
Heroic ſpirits, with your zeal inflame,
And lead your kindred Yeomanry * to fame;

mong themſelves, *upon the ſacrifice of the laws on which public Liberty is founded*, they would no ſooner lift up their eyes towards the watchful and attentive People, than they would find their public virtue return upon them, and would make haſte to reſume that *plan of conduct, out of the limits of which they can expect nothing but ruin and perdition.*

EXTRACT FROM DELOLME.

So let it be with ———

SHAKESPEARE, JU. CÆ.

Or by Saint Paul ———

IDEM, RICH. III.

——— You'll hear of it.

IDEM, HEN. IV.

* Mr. C—— ſeems very apprehenſive, that the Union with Great Britain will be encountered by paſſion, and combated with arms; the arms of the Yeomanry, and the paſſion of Patriotiſm, were the paſſion and the arms that he dreaded. Nor is it to be wondered at, when theſe ſpirited emulators of the Volunteers of Ireland have already ſurpaſt their Fathers in military achieve-

Teach them to tread your ſteps, and death outbrave,
E'er Independence ſinks a trodden ſlave.
In ſtorms of danger their triumphant bands
Have ſav'd our rights, and bound Rebellion's hands;
But Erin calls them in the coming hour,
To foil the trampling foot of thankleſs pow'r *,

ments, and nothing remains to render them as dear to poſterity, but to equal them in thoſe exertions by which they eſtabliſhed the Independence and Freedom of their Country. Let us advance, and oppreſſion ſhall retreat; let us declare we will not part with our Conſtitution, and what power will dare to wreſt it from us? What power will dare to cruſh the men to whom it owes its exiſtence at this moment? Or ſteep its ungrateful hands in the loyaleſt blood of the nation? We can—we ſhall—we muſt preſerve our Country; and on the day of her preſervation, with what delight and rapture ſhall we reflect, that from generation to generation our Children ſhall attribute their liberties to us, exclaiming with joy and gratitude—The Volunteers were triumphant over Oppreſſion—the Yeomanry over Oppreſſion and Rebellion.

* "As to caſes of ordinary public oppreſſion, where the vitals of the Conſtitution are not attacked, as a King cannot miſuſe his power without the advice of evil counſellors, and the aſſiſtance of wicked miniſters: theſe men may be examined and puniſhed; the Conſtitution has therefore provided, by means of indictments and parliamentary impeachments, that no man ſhall dare to aſſiſt the Crown *in contradiction to the Laws of the Land.*"

BLACKSTONE, i, 244.

"But as to ſuch public oppreſſors as tend to diſſolve the Conſtitution, and ſubvert the fundamentals of Government, the

While juſtice truſts them with her ſword and ſcale,
Alternate *Treaſon* and *Oppreſſion* fail.

law is ſilent, and it becomes us to be ſilent too, leaving to future generations, whenever neceſſity and the ſafety of the whole ſhall require it, the exertion of thoſe inherent (though latent) powers of ſociety, which no climate, no time, no conſtitution, no contract, can ever deſtroy or diminiſh."

BLACKSTONE, i, 244, 245.

Though Mr. Pitt may fancy himſelf beyond the reach of our vengeance, let his creatures here beware of incurring the puniſhment denounced in the firſt of thoſe quotations, by daring "to aſſiſt the Crown (or rather the civil Counſellor and wicked Miniſter) in contradiction to the laws of the land." But if in contempt of this menace, they ſtill perſiſt "to diſſolve our conſtitution, and ſubvert the fundamentals of Government," let them tremble for the conſequences ſet forth in the ſecond quotation, which muſt inevitably overtake their flagitious perſeverance.

FINIS.

6

# CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

# *STATE OF IRELAND;*

AND ON THE

# IMPOLICY,

AND

# IMPRACTICABILITY

OF

# SEPARATION.

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LIMERICK:

PRINTED BY RICHARD PEPPARD, BRIDGE-STREET.

1799.

# PREFACE.

THE following ſheets were prepared in their preſent form in the firſt month of the breaking out of the rebellion, early in June 1798, in the capital; by ſtarts, and almoſt under arms, and ſince ſeldom reviſed, and ſcarcely retouched, they are now haſtily drawn forth into publication from the late junction of the enemies fleets, and the renewed apprehenſions of invaſion.

This will account for ſome conjectures faintly traced therein, and appologize for the apparent affectation of prophecy. To expunge theſe is of little importance, and to make the neceſſary alterations, the whole web muſt be rent, and for that time and leiſure are wanting.

The firſt ſeaſon of publication having been paſt, by inevitable cauſes of a private

vate nature, I would willingly have ſuffered this humble effort to moulder on my ſhelf, but that yielding to the ſolicitation of over-rating friendſhips, and being of opinion, that in the turns and ſhiftings of a varied and protracted war, and in a country where rebellion ſleeps, but is not dead, ſome deſperate neceſſity might ariſe to French intereſts, to replunge Ireland into her late unhappy diſtractions, for the purpoſe of drawing off Britiſh attention from the affairs of the continent; alſo, the policy of a ſyſtem, which ſtruck ſuch deep root in this country, is entitled to ſober enquiry; and it never can be out of time to endeavour to diſlodge that maſs of diſcontent, which, like a ſediment, ſtill clings to the bottom.

With theſe views, and to reſtore content to the cottage, by extending that conviction, which is on the author's mind, with all the inaccuracies of a haſty production, he offers it to his country.

# THOUGHTS

ON

# INVASION, &c.

I KNOW not that the hiſtory of any other country ever exhibited a more important, or perilous period, than that in which we now live. The duty of every Iriſhman imperiouſly demands, that he ſhould add to the general ſtock of ſecurity. Even the little ſea-boy in an hour ſo rude, ſhould work in his ſtation. We are toſſed in an agitated ocean, and the crew have mutinied.

The conteſt now, is not whether this country is to be ruled by a favourite party—it is not whether ſhe ſhall enjoy a particular branch of commerce in full participation with England—it is not for any ſpecific intrinſic regulation—it is not on any of the antiquated themes of factious diſcontent: The open and avowed object of one party is, to effect a ſeparation from England; of the other, to maintain and ſupport the preſent connexion. They who aim at the former, look to the eſtabliſhing a republic, as ſecondary to eſtabliſhing an independence, which being acquired, they may or may not, form a new alliance with Britain, on the broad baſis of equal intereſt. This object to be accompliſhed by the annihilation of Engliſh influence and Engliſh councils, by Iriſh numbers and foreign aid.

Fanaticiſm, and the enterpriſing talent of the nation, againſt the property of

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the nation, have been marvelously worked in, in aid, and a great variety of minor motives, enter into, and mix with, the leading views.

Convulsed as Ireland is, fearfully divided as are the contending parties, marshalled on one side an unusual army, militia and yeomanry; the garrisons, military stations, stores and magazines; cannon, &c. British capital and British fleets; Irish property, the professions, military, civil, legal and ecclesiastical; on the other, an unarmed and divided people, and French aid, which may or may not arrive, should all come to a general contest, in which the parties will be fully committed. It will continue *donec Grecia longo collisa duello.* I see no prospect but that which points to the ruin of this late happy land. I perceive at the end of the visto a few wretched widows, mangled infants, and helpless old age, crawling on

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the boſom of their wounded and expiring country. Convinced that whatever bleſſings Ireland had a fair claim to, were faſt approaching in a full and regular tide; and that from the bettering ſtate, and mildening governments of Europe, and the wiſdom of England, ſhe would ſpeedily and certainly obtain them. I briſtle with horrors on ſurveying the depths into which, with a wicked levity, ſhe is about to precipitate herſelf, may-hap, into eternal extinction. Patience now is patriotiſm; and he who urges to acts of revolution, conſults the warmth of his feelings, not the coolneſs of his judgment—he miſtakes frenzy for family love, and the workings of ambition, or vanity, for public good.

Ireland wanted not revolution—it has not reflected on its intereſts if it wiſhes to diſſolve the connexion between the ſiſter countries, and the portion of civil liberty

liberty it enjoyed, was amongſt the higheſt found exiſting on earth.

Stinted by time and ſpace, I content myſelf to ſketch off the different degrees of liberty and ſocial happineſs in the univerſe. I begin with Europe, its grand repoſitory.

In Ruſſia the peaſant is chained to his rock in a territory naturally unproductive, where muſhrooms and ſaw-duſt, and a preparation of fiſh bones, till lately, ſupplied the place of bread, ſubject to the caprice of the governor of his diſtrict, amidſt wilds dreary with perpetual winter. So little are the principles of freedom underſtood, that the preſent Czar may be a foul deſpot, or a patriot king, a Nero or an Alfred, ruling nearly equal to the reſt of Europe, and over a territory greater than the Roman empire in its zenith, over a country eight thouſand

miles

miles in extent, in parts of which the Circaſſian beauty is reared on ſpice for the Turkiſh haram, as a crop of profitable growth, by the enſlaved and brutalized parent—hideous fable of our moſt inſtinctive

GERMANY, ſunk in vaſſalage, as dark and oppreſſive as that which ſtained the records of the world in the iron times of Gothic barbarity—complicated machine, circle within circle, irregularly combined, eaſily diſorganized by its jarring intereſts, jealous of admitting the new lights of policy, and ſtationary in its old orbit.

PRUSSIA, a patriotic deſpotiſm, differing in conſtitution from the former, and at preſent better adminiſtered; but the beſt of kings too often lay the foundation for deſtroying the freedom of the ſubject—the ſucceſſor will have equal power, but may not have equal reſpect

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for the interests of his people. The prince here is every thing; the people admitted to no share in the government.

POLAND, where the peasant is whipped about at the caprice of the soldier, without regarding the common rights of humanity—where drunkeness and neglect of property is the consequence of insecurity under the laws—partitioned and enslaved—the best interests of the country bartered by those who should protect them—no intermediate classes between the vassal and his lord. Born slaves, if fed they have no idea of misery—the husband and wife subject to the disposal of the lord in person and property.

SPAIN and PORTUGAL, over-ran by superstition, and indolence, pride and priest-craft, mild remnants of the old French government, with fewer abuses, but with scarcely any limitations to the

power

power of the prince.—From one of the freeſt in Europe, the former is now become the moſt deſpotic, the cortes or parliaments of that kingdom, which had equal or greater power than that of England, are now abolished, and ſlavery and miſery are now univerſal.

ITALY nearly held the mirror up to Spain, ſave that in ſome of the northern governments, it kept a more rigid jealouſy on all ſtate ſubjects, and in Venice their councils were altogether locked up and reſerved from popular inſpection; changing from this, they have not improved their liberties by French domination. Divided republics! It will be the intereſt of the great nation to fight you one againſt the other, and thereby prevent fœderation for any grand national movement.

SWITZERLAND, which exhauſted the ſtores of wit and genius, in the praiſe of its

its free conſtitution, and the purity of its adminiſtration, have now fallen beneath the axe. The country of Rouſſeau, the retreat of Gibbon. And Bern, the theme of Monteſquieu, are now no more.

FRANCE, in a ſtate of anarchical and ſcientific madneſs, enjoying at this moment leſs liberty than any of theſe countries called free, modelling from that ſemi-barbarous antique Rome, with almoſt coloſſal projects of aggrandizement, founding on vicious morality, the ideal purity of a republic.

SWEDEN and DENMARK, and all the northern parts of Europe as depreſſed as their polar ſituation, is elevated.

Where then are we to look for civil liberty—not to Turkey—*thy name was Greece*—that Greece which produced Demoſthenes, and Æſchines, Plato and Socrates, Pe-

 ricles,

ricles, and Alcibiades—a galaxy of heroes, and freemen, ſtateſmen, orators, and philoſophers, now exiſts, but to excite all the collected ideas of ſlavery—too eaſily agitated—breathing too pure an air of liberty—not poſſeſſing reflective judgment—too obedient to firſt impulſes, ſhe ſunk under the influence of her demagogues.

Turn to AFRICA—to the miſerable republics on the Mediterranean, what ſee you there but the name?—To the interior, where reaſon has ſlept ſince creation, and the link ſeems loſt between man and the ſubordinate claſſes of animal nature.

To ASIA, where the poor Hindoo is fed on rice lightly ſeaſoned with ſalt—where two-pence halfpenny is the earning of daily labour, two-fifths of which produce the over taxed ſalt—where ghee butter, mixed with this miſerable diet, is the chief luxury—a luxury from which

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an European ſtarts with all the ſymptoms of nauſea.

Free govornments having fled to the Weſt—In America we find it in proceſs, 'tis theory ſtill; and until the repreſentative form has been proved by more working than it has got, I will ſtill more reſpect that inſtitution, which has braved the ſcrutinizing eye of the univerſe.—Whence did America get its government, from the old Engliſh ſtock—from *that England which but yeſterday might have ſtood againſt the world*, reſting on her rock, around her ſeated moral honeſty, ſolid wiſdom, fortitude, confidence in her intercourſes, union, ſkill in all her intereſts—*inexhauſtable reſources!* She mocks the furious foam ſpouted from that land Leviathan—that amphibious monſter, which, with its ugly grin of death, dare not approach her ſhores.

Amidſt the varied imperfections of the ſocial ſyſtem, and lamentable are the reflections which this ſhort ſketch muſt excite, I aſk the hiſtoric mind, when, and where, the rights of human nature, have been moſt conſcientiouſly adminiſtered? In what country, and in what time, the beſt and wiſeſt reſtraints have been put upon the bad paſſions of rulers? Not even in the freeſt of the antient governments—not in giddy Greece—nor in boaſting and ambitious Rome, ſave in the early part of the latter republic, and then, but for a ſhort moment.—I have preſſed this on the moſt intelligent—the anſwer was *England*; they differed as to the period. From England germinated thoſe ſhoots, which are now adorning the American wilderneſs, and tranſplanted into France, on the ſame good Engliſh ſtock. Gallic foppery and profligacy are grafting the ſour fruit, whoſe taſte is death.

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In the ſame Engliſh frame was the conſtitution of Ireland bound up. We certainly did not obtain the proof impreſſion—we did not obtain, to content our wiſhes, yet we ſhould abate our diſcontents, when we reflect, that we are not a primary country, and that we enjoyed a high portion of ſocial happineſs.

Had England been ſunk in the ocean when the ſecond Henry got poſſeſſion of this iſland, what might have been our fate? We might have ſunk beneath the yoke of ſome future domineering *Lewis*, or ſome butchering *Alva*; and taking the complexion from the parent country, we might have been a province to France or Spain, and have groaned under the complicated hardſhips of inteſtine rivalry, and colonial thraldom; ſwallowed up by gothic prieſthood, our learning would have been diſputatious divinity, or logical jargon; our agricultural intereſts kept back

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to the ſhepherd ſtate; our commerce a blank.—Cut up in provincial conflicts for ſucceſſion, ſcourged and waſted by the clanniſh barbarity of our Deſmonds, and Thomonds, and Mac Dermots, and the bloody handed Cathall, divided and oppreſſed, ſubject to the capricious cruelty of bare-ſhanked ſavages, or hairy brehons, ſitting on the judicial ſhaggy rock, diſpenſing the wild traditionary reports of ſtill more barbarous antiquity.

From ſuch a ſtate did England deliver us; we eſcaped the ill effects of continued continental broils, baſtile, inquiſition—all the vicious inſtitutions of deſpotic dominion, thoſe galling miſeries which have diſgraced other countries; inſtead thereof, we obtained, and were enjoying the elementary principles of the freeſt conſtitution. From that grand repoſitory England, we received its illuminations in navigation and commerce, its agricultural ſcience (a branch

branch of knowledge eſſentially uſeful to this country), all their inventions in the arts and manufactures, were thrown open to our inſpection, and imitation. In ſhort, we were gradually receiving benefits of the moſt ſolid nature. To England are we indebted for all the artificial bleſſings we poſſeſs, which, though ſeldom obtained under circumſtances of generoſity, but of difficulty, or conſtraint, ſtill ſhe gave. The air or grace are *now* of immaterial conſideration; ſhe gave ſplendid eſtabliſhments for the encouragement and propagation of ſcience—(the parent of all good) her fleets gave us protection, and are giving us ſtability; and whatever we have, which are not the productions of nature, we owe to England. She is now the ſun of our ſyſtem; and ſhould we looſe, from our ſphere, and fall from that bright firmament, we may roll a giddy meteor through future time.

Con-

Connected with much acuteneſs and ſenſibility in the Iriſh national character, is one unfortunate leading feature—credulity—that cullible proneneſs to believe the moſt monſtrous abſurdities, is as obſervable now as was in the darker periods of its hiſtory. The ſecret of Rouſſeau's compoſition (Hume ſays) was the infuſion of the ſpirit of romance into his works. This, not Lauſanne, ſhould have been his country; and if a demagogue in queſt of fit inſtruments to work, ſhould light on this iſland, well might he call it the fortunate.

Here they have prevailed, ſo as to extend the poiſon of diſcontent through the maſs of the people; all the natural ſprings of ſuffering have been raiſed to a dangerous elaſticity, and conſpiracies of a new malignity, and pervading untouched and unrecorded claſſes of criminality, have been detected and happily

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ſtruſtrated. The ſervile war in Rome aroſe from an actual ſtate of helotiſm; but in this country, that condition is a generous contract between man and man—one commuting a certain portion of uſeful induſtry for conveniences of another kind.

To ſtate that we had not grievances, would be as cruel as falſe. We had—we ſpoke of as many as we had—every grievance had a thouſand tongues. We complained in bitterneſs againſt England—England alſo complains againſt England—every man is obliged to bear in his own family certain inconveniences—the married ſtate of the happieſt kind produces them; but they are tolerated, becauſe the good which ariſes from toleration, counterbalances the evil—each is individually intereſted in the preſervation of order; but in a ſtate, the intereſt may appear to be, but is not, one point

more remote. Continued bickerings ſour the temper in either caſe, and lead to the worſt conſequences.

The ſufferings of a people ſhould be very conſiderable indeed, when they are juſtified in prudence or wiſdom to ſeek redreſs by the overſet of all the inſtitutions of a free ſtate. Hence it is, that revolutions are ſo rare.

In Turkey or Africa, he who would offer himſelf for his country deſerves the patriot wreath. To point a people to their intereſts—to probe the ſores of corruption—to preſerve a well-judged jealouſy in a free ſtate, are the beſt centinels of civil liberty; but to apply falſe meaſures—to lay exceſſive damages for inadequate crimes—to ferment the popular blood to raging fever, by drugs artificially applied, is the baſeſt mockery of patriotiſm. Of all virtues *that* ſhould be leaſt

leaſt alloyed, unmixed with baſer matter, it ſhould preſerve its ſnowy mantle unſpotted. Other qualities are converſant on detail ſubjects, but this embraces all the grand intereſts of a country—it involves the fate and happineſs or miſery of millions, born, and unborn; and he who excites a people to acts of revolution, ſhould pauſe and conſider, long, and deep, whether time and circumſtance are importunate for change—whether he has public good alone in view—and whether all the pure and firm ingredients, eſſential to ſuch character, are mixed and united in him.—I bear teſtimony to the purity of ſome who commenced their career, not foreſeeing the terrible events which have altered and disfigured the face of Europe. They had it not in contemplation that the moſt ambitious power on earth, like an immenſe rock, would hold out its miſhapen ſides to invite us to a wreck.

Warned by the fate of other countries, which have ſottiſhly ſurrendered in truſt their independence to France—grateful for thoſe aids which England gave, ſhall we be found deſerters in this her glorious and brilliant ſtruggle for exiſtence—ſhall we, who draw our preſent ſecurity from her fleets, and money from her treaſuries, exhibit, in the face of the univerſe, ſuch ignorance of our true intereſts. With concentrated powers, we ſhould come forward, and by diſtinguiſhed acts of heroiſm and wiſdom, prove that we poſſeſs a national character—prove that we will make common-cauſe againſt the common enemy—that we will ſtand by that country which has drawn us from the ſavage, to the ſocial ſtate—prove by a dignified ſuppreſſion of our piques and complaints, that we who were not ſenſeleſs to our wants, can elevate ourſelves above ſuch a feeling, and in the hour of danger, by temper and firmneſs, ſhew

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our wiſdom by the ſincerity of our attachments, and detect and diſdain the fallacy of bloated and domineering rapacity.

——————— miserere domus labentis & istam,
Oro (si quis ad hut precibus locus) exue mentem.

Were I to trace it with the indifference of an hiſtoric enquiry, eaſy and ſucceſsful would be the proof, that this iſland was in a progreſſive ſeries of advancement—that amidſt the mutations England underwent, ſpiring aloft with ſteady wing to that exalted freedom, and conſequent proſperity ſhe enjoys above all nations, we participated in effect in all her progreſſes, tho' in an inferior degree. We are not a primary country; and like the ſatellite, we ſhould be content with that degree of opacity, which is inſeparable from our ſtation. Nature, prodigally bountiful in other reſpects, has not allowed us to hold a rank among the great nations which

which ſurround us. We are not of their callibre, aiming at their ſize—we miſtake our condition; and warned by example, we ſhould dread the fate of the little animal in the fable, which puffed and ſwelled till it burſt. Our tenure of ſeparation would be by courteſy. Like the blind giant, Polyphemus, we have already waded near drowning into the ocean of public diſcontent. So far as the experiment has gone, it has been a melancholy rehearſal probably for a ſtill more melancholy tragedy—it ſhould teach the managers, that they cannot rationally expect to get up the play; and even if they could be ſo ruinouſly ſucceſsful, the profits would not pay the expenſes.—Already enough has been developed of plans the moſt ſanguinary, and bigotry the moſt perſecuting, as to palſey the arm of the hardieſt revolutioniſt ſyſtems of blood, which would have fouled the dunneſt page of hiſtory. The profeſſed aim ſeems to have diverged

diverged from its point—the whole is one unmeaning maſs of tumult and confuſion.

For thoſe who take more pains to inflame their paſſions and feed their prejudices, than to inſtruct their underſtandings, I will make a copious extract from a book, which has compleatly unmaſked theſe political Quixottes, who affect to give relief to all nations in diſtreſs, though not in the ſingle and unambitious ſpirit of the knight de la Mancha.—Its title is—*Obſervations on the Diſpute between the United States of America and France, addreſſed by* Robert Goodloe Harper, *Eſq. one of the Delegates of South Carolina (a ſtate at one time the moſt devoted to the French intereſts of any in the Union), to his Conſtituents in May*, 1797.

He opens his admirable and diſcerning pamphlet, by ſaying, it would be impoſſible to detect the principles on which France meant to act by America, without

out taking into view her general plan of foreign policy—meaning European.

"And permit me, fellow-citizens, to introduce my remarks on this subject by a declaration, to the truth of which moſt of you can bear witneſs, permit me to declare, that while France appeared to be engaged in a ſtruggle for liberty, no heart beat higher than mine with affection for her cauſe. I joined with enthuſiaſm in the general exultation of my country for her victories, mourned for her diſaſters, and wiſhed to draw a veil over her crimes, her follies, and her exceſſes. Even her crimes appeared only as miſtakes in my eyes, and her moſt enormous atrocities, as natural, and perhaps neceſſary, conſequences of the violent external and internal ſtruggles wherein ſhe was engaged. I called them the crimes of the revolution, not of France, and I pardoned them, where I could not pardon. I excuſed them—I pal-

palliated—I conſidered her as fighting in the cauſe of freedom and humanity, and an end ſo excellent, afforded much conſolation for the means which ſhe often employed."—*To all this I moſt heartily ſubſcribe.*

"This end we have now ſeen her moſt fully attain—we have ſeen her repel all her enemies, and eſtabliſh her independence upon the firmeſt, and moſt formidable baſis—we have ſeen her, inſtead of being cruſhed herſelf, threatening to cruſh all the ſurrounding ſtates. Annexing ſome to herſelf, reducing others to an abſolute ſubſerviency to her will, and making deep inroads on the power of the reſt.

"We have ſeen her, after various revolutions at home, adopt the government for which ſhe contended—the government of her own free choice.

"Why then inſtead of confining herſelf to her own defence, has ſhe become the aſſailant? Why does ſhe refuſe that peace which her enemies have over and over propoſed, and whereby ſhe would be left in poſſeſſion of very large acquiſitions? Why, after renouncing repeatedly, and in the moſt ſolemn manner, all idea of conqueſt, does ſhe ſtill preſs on to new conqueſts, and proudly refuſe even to treat for peace, unleſs all ſhe has ſeized be firſt confirmed to her, and all that ſhe has loſt, be firſt reſtored?

"Why does ſhe compel all thoſe ſtates, whoſe councils ſhe can influence or controul, to join her in the war? Why does ſhe endeavour to excite the Ruſſians, and the Turks againſt Auſtria, which offers, even ſolicits, peace on terms highly advantageous to her? Why does ſhe attempt to bribe Pruſſia, with part of the ſpoils of Auſtria, to aſſiſt in reducing it under her

her power? Why does ſhe ſtrive to arm every neutral ſtate againſt the commerce of England, and to exclude their ſhips from every port?

"Why does ſhe declare, that ſhe never will lay down her arms until ſhe has broken and deſtroyed the maritime ſtrength of England?

"It is, that ſhe has formed a plan of aggrandizement at the expenſe of all her neighbours—that after the example of the Romans, thoſe ferocious and ſyſtematic deſtroyers of mankind, ſhe has reſolved to make all Europe, and finally the whole world, ſink beneath her yoke—a reſolution in the accompliſhment whereof, ſhe adopts the Roman policy of dividing to deſtroy—of bribing one nation with the ſpoils of another—of inciting the ſtronger to inaction—reducing the weak to ſubmiſſion—and by the reſources of the one,

and the connivance of the other, breaking the ſtrength of thoſe whoſe power ſhe dreads, and whoſe policy ſhe cannot deceive.

" And is this a policy, my fellow-citizens, in which we ought to wiſh her ſucceſs. Is it deſirable that the balance of power, whereby the great nations of Europe have hitherto been mutually checked, and in ſome degree confined within the limits of juſtice and moderation, ſhould be wholly deſtroyed to make way for one uncontrouled and deſpotic maſter, whoſe power, from being *unchecked, muſt, from the very conſtitution of human nature, be conſtantly abuſed.* Is this a plan which deſerves the good wiſhes of this country? Shall we be more ſafe when Europe ſhall have been reduced under the uncontrouled influence of France, than while her power is checked and balanced by that of other nations, who will be in-

induced, by the deſire of preſerving that balance, to ſhield us from her aggreſſions? I believe that every principle of ſound policy will anſwer in the negative.

" Had France been content to purſue her projects of ambition in Europe, and leave us in peace, though we might have wiſhed for the good of humanity to ſee them defeated, yet a due regard to our own intereſts, and even to thoſe of the civilized world, would have forbidden us to join in the attempt. For although we ſhould certainly be expoſed to temporary evils by the preponderance of her power, yet our ſtrength increaſes with a rapidity which muſt place us in a very ſhort time beyond the reach of danger or dread, and *may alſo enable us to preſerve the liberties of mankind, by forming a counter-poiſe, and check to the ambition of France after they ſhall be loſt in Europe.* This ſtrength would be greatly diminiſhed, and its increaſe long re-

retarded by a premature exertion. To remain in peace, therefore, amidſt the preſent conflict of empires, was a duty to ourſelves, to poſterity, and to the human race."

Mr. Harpur then centres on his own appropriate ſubject in the maſculine ſtyle of his countrymen; and with that ſound and penetrating underſtanding which diſtinguiſhes them, he detects the views France had in committing *his* country with Great Britain. The principal part of his work is employed in direct and unequivocal proofs of this, and towards the cloſe, he reſumes the further elucidation of their ſchemes of ambition as follow:—" But (he adds in page 124) it will be impoſſible to underſtand fully the views of France in this country, without attending to her projects in Europe.

" It

"It is perfectly well known that ſhe long ſince formed, and ſtill purſues, with the moſt ſteady perſeverance, a ſyſtem of aggrandizement in Europe. For inſuring the ſucceſs of which, it is abſolutely eſſential, that the *maritime power of England ſhould be reduced.*

"Germany oppoſed barriers to her by land, which were alſo to be removed. Accordingly, Germany was to be divided, and a maratime coalition formed againſt England—of this coalition, the United States were to form a part; for though we had no navy, it was known we had the means of ſpeedily forming one; and that when once engaged in the war, we ſhould be obliged to exert them. The great number of our merchant ſhips—in the mean time the ſkill, number, and enterpriſing character of our ſeamen—the abundance of proviſions and naval ſtores in our country—the convenience of

of our harbours, and our vicinity to the West Indies, where the commerce and navy of England are moſt eaſily ſuſceptible of a deep and deadly wound, would have rendered us a moſt important ally in a maritime war againſt that power—to cut off our commerce with her, at the ſame time the importance whereof to her, though certainly great, has been far over-rated by France, would greatly aid the blow.

" Accordingly we find, that as ſoon as the republic, and the power of the jacobin leaders was eſtabliſhed, and before the war with England commmenced, Mr. Gennet was ſent out with expreſs inſtructions to bring about this alliance. And I have been aſſured by a gentleman who about that time acted a conſiderable part in the convention, but has ſince viſited America, that this maritime coalition was eaſily deviſed, and that nothing was wanting

wanting to its completion but the consent of the united states."

From page 67, he shews what this country would have to expect from the surrender of our independence to them.

"Let us (he adds) enquire of the Dutch—let us ask the Belgians—they can give us some useful information, and from their example, we may learn, that the oppressions of France always keep pace with the weakness, the *credulity*, and the submissive spirit of those with whom she has to deal. Let us ask the Swiss; from them we may receive a lesson equally important, that the only means of setting bounds to her haughty and unjust pretensions, is firm and manly opposition.

"In the winter of 1794, the French armies having over-ran Belgium, and being

ing favoured by the intenſe cold which covered the rivers with ice, marched into Holland. On the 20th of January, a few days after their arrival, the French commiſſioners with the army, publiſhed a proclamation, in which they told the Dutch—"In the midſt of war we con-
"ſider you as our friends and allies—it
"is under this name that we enter your
"country. We ſeek not to terrify, but
"to inſpire you with confidence. It is
"but a few years, ſince a tyrannic con-
"querer preſcribed you laws—we abo-
"liſh them, and reſtore you freedom.
"We come not to make you ſlaves—the
"French nation ſhall preſerve to you
"your independence—perſonal ſafety ſhall
"be ſecured and property protected."

*Hoche's* proclamation to the people of Ireland was pretty much to the ſame amount.

"All

" All this was very friendly, and the Dutch very good naturedly believed it, more especially as the French generals, when they were approaching the country, had constantly repeated the same thing; they however soon found their mistake.

" Seven days after this first proclamation, the same commissioners having now been admitted into all the towns with their troops, and obtained complete possession of the country, published a second, in which they invited formally the Dutch government to furnish the army, within one month, with the following supplies, viz. 200,000 quintals of wheat, 500,000 rations of hay, 200,000 rations of straw, 500,000 bushels of corn, 150,000 pair of shoes, 20,000 pair of boots, 20,000 coats and waistcoats, 40,000 pair of breeches, 150,000 pair of pantaloons, 200,000 shirts, and 50,000 hats, and beside all this, 12,000

oxen, to be delivered in two months.— This requisition they call their amicable intentions, which they flatter themselves the citizens and the government will shew equal zeal to second, and in the execution whereof, they hope that the slow forms of ordinary administration, and all doubts about the want of authority, which might impede the operation, will be carefully set aside; and they give the Dutch to understand, in case the articles are not furnished, *they should be exacted by force.*—It was now too late to hesitate. The French had crossed the rivers, their army was in the country, and the Dutch had opened their gates to *these restorers of liberty.* They were instantly obliged to comply, and on the same day they addressed a proclamation to the people, informing them of the demand, and directing them to furnish their respective proportions. In this proclamation, they remind the people of the

the abſolute neceſſity of furniſhing the ſupplies, without the ſmalleſt delay, and of the diſtreſs to which they muſt expoſe themſelves, if they manifeſt the leaſt unwillingneſs or even procraſtination.

" This however was only the commencement. They ſubſiſted their armies in Holland during the winter, took every thing they wanted, and paid in depreciated aſſignats at par; and finally, they forced the Dutch to form an offenſive and defenſive alliance with them againſt England forever. This treaty was ſigned the 15th of May 1795. It obliges the Dutch to cede to France, as indemnities, two of their moſt important frontier towns, with the adjoining territories, and one of their provinces to admit French garriſons in caſe of war in that quarter; into three others of their ſtrongeſt frontier towns, to admit a French garriſon, both in peace and war; into one of their principal ſea-

ports,

ports, to give France the free navigation of one of their principal rivers; to employ half their forces in carrying on the preſent campaign, under the command of French generals; and finally, to pay France, as a further indemnification for the expenſes of the war, one hundred millions of livres, equal to twenty-five millions of dollars in caſh, or bills of exchange on foreign countries.

"In addition to this, it has lately appeared, from the ſtatements made to the Dutch government by a committee of finance, that for fourteen months then laſt, the Dutch had paid two millons of dollars per month, amounting in the whole to twenty-eight millions, for the ſupport of the French armies.

"To theſe two ſums, and the value of the contribution exacted in kind, and they amounted at the leaſt to fifty-five millions of

of dollars, two-thirds of the whole expenſe of our revolution. Of this enormous ſum, have the Dutch been plundered by France, under the name of amity and alliance, in leſs than two years; and in addition to the immenſe amount of aſſignats they have been forced to receive, to the ſurrender of a whole province, of their five ſtrongeſt frontier towns, of a principal ſeaport, and to the employment of one-half of their troops in the ſervice of France.

" In return for all this, the French have driven away the ſtadtholder, and changed the government. They have not ſuffered the Dutch however to adopt one to their own mind. A convention was called for that purpoſe, a great majority of which was in favour of a fœderal republic. The minority having oppoſed this plan, in vain ſent two of their members to obtain the interference of the French government.

The

The French government did interfere, and *obliged the majority to yield.* The plan of government which this great majority favoured, was now rejected, and a different form, more suitable to the views of France, was imposed upon the nation.

The Dutch have also obtained, in addition to all these proofs of amity, an offensive and defensive war with France against England, in which they have already lost all their rich possessions in the East Indies, the Cape of Good Hope, a great part of their fleet, and the remains of their trade.

The easy conditions granted to the Dutch were complained of in the French convention; and it was alledged, that the commissioners had not drawn from Holland all the advantages which the republic had a right to get. The commissioners justified themselves by alledging, that it would

would have been impolitic to demand harder conditions at firſt, becauſe in that caſe the Dutch might have been driven to reſiſtance.

" Thus we ſee openly avowed and approved, the ſyſtem of coaxing a nation into their power, under the pretence of rendering it ſervices, and this by a government which has talked to us of our perfidious neutrality.

" Without entering into ſo minute a detail reſpecting Belgium, it will be ſufficient to ſtate, that the French entered this unfortunate country under repeated and ſolemn promiſes of protection and freedom. No ſooner had they obtained poſſeſſion by the ſucceſs of their arms, and the *favour of the inhabitants, who were fooliſh enough to confide in their promiſes*, than they put every article of property, which could be of uſe to their army, into re-

quiſition, and compelled the people to receive payment in depreciated aſſignats at par. They next levied immenſe pecuniary contributions on the towns—they ordered meaſures to be taken for compelling the people to exchange their money for aſſignats at par—they placed the country under military commiſſioners, finding that a majority of the conventions, which they had aſſembled under pretence of making the people free, were adverſe to their views—they diſſolved theſe conventions by force, though freely choſen by the people, and this for the expreſs purpoſe, to uſe the words of one of their commiſſioners, "of raiſing up the mino-"rity, and deſtroying or counter-balanc-"ing the power of an anti-patriotic ma-"jority."

"Having *thus* afforded liberty and protection to the Belgians—having *thus* broken their chains, and releaſed them from

the

the yoke of their antient tyrants, they proceeded to seize and confiscate, for their own use, the whole property of the clergy in Belgium, to the amount of more than two hundred and fifty millions of dollars.

"The military government, and contributions levied at the point of the bayonet, still go on in this liberated country; for the gazettes have lately informed us of parties of horse being sent to seize the provisions of such farmers as neglected to bring them in at the orders of the commissioners."

Mr. Harpur then proceeds to examine their conduct to the Italians, and their attempts on the Swiss.—When his book was published, they had not obtained a dominion over that brave, and independent, and spirited people, who, after a vigorous and manly struggle, have fallen under their yoke. In respect to the Italians also,

new events have turned up—the conduct of France to Venice, which it has ſurrendered to the Emperor, is a ſtill more convincing proof, that every tie, moral or political, vaniſhes at the appearance of ambition. They have given conſtitutions, called free, to the Italian ſtates, and garbled them out into partitions of ſuch ſize, as to prevent a general union of the entire to act in concert for a general good. They will be able at any time to fight one againſt the other, and for that purpoſe they have rendered their governments compleatly dependant on France.

The true uſe of recording the tranſactions of former times, and of keeping alive thoſe of the preſent, is, that we may be warned by examples drawn from ſimilar circumſtances. If we are not the blindeſt and moſt beſotted people on earth, the view of theſe countries, which have either been

been cajoled by their ſpecious promiſes, or conquered by the ſucceſs of their arms, ſhould ſtun us into reflection. Good God have they not ſcope enough in the brutalized ſtates of Europe for extending the bleſſings of enlarged freedom to the reſt of the univerſe, if this cruſading humanity is their object. We do not want their interference in theſe countries, which the other day were the ſources whence they drew their beſt ideas of liberty. Our books were eternally on their tables—our Locke and Hume, and all the long liſt of free writers.—It was to the new ſyſtems thrown on in the revolution in France, that this country owes much of its preſent unhappy ſtate—to that tolerated ſpirit of enquiry, which makes the government of a free people more eaſily ſubverted than the moſt rank tyranny, and which is itſelf the type and ſymbol of freedom—to that characteriſtic credulity of the nation, connected with many real

cauſes

cauſes of diſcontent—to the quick and ardent ſenſibility of an irritable and lively people, worked on, by ſocieties compoſed of men who caught the flame in France and were ſpectators on that bloody theatre during all the revolutionary actings—to the eloquent and faſcinating theories of that country, tricked out in all the gauds and pageants of poetry and oratory, artfully addreſſed to the imagination—theſe, by inflaming the paſſions, operated a powerful effect, and ſwelled the grounds of real diſcontent into monſtrous and deceptive ſhapes—and laſtly, to a *preſs* unparalelled in indulgence, re-editing in well directed appeals and local ſkill, the inapplicable miſeries of French ſuffering to Iriſh clamor. Theſe were the parents of thoſe troubles *which now ſhake the ſtate.*

Having conſidered and compared in that ſummary manner which ſuited the preſent enquiry, the different degrees of civility

civility in those countries denominated free, and also these despotisms which scourge mankind; and having by means of Mr. Harpur developed the schemes of French ambition, and opened the book of fate to Ireland, I come to enquire into the lowly walks of its real estate, and with all its disadvantages on its head, to shew, that she enjoyed the security and comfort arising from a constitution inferior to none found existing on earth, but to England, and little inferior to that.

The condition of all ranks in society was rising with more rapid advancement than has been known in any other country in Europe. It was far removed from that state of things which Doctor Swift so sourly and so tauntingly describes, when he recommends to the peasant the fattening of his child for market, and by its sale the payment of his rents.

We

We ſhould look to the laſt ten years—I take a proſperous period. The peaſant was faſt emerging from diſtreſs into affluence. In three counties already had a bold peaſantry, *their country's pride*, been eſtabliſhed on the beſt Engliſh plan. In Wexford, now a waſte for wolves, it was particularly the caſe—that claſs of men riſing from the cottage into the independent farmer ſtate, were ſpreading through other counties with a natural and certain growth. The day labourer was treading faſt on the heels of the cottager—there was no article of uſe, which did not meet a prompt and encouraging market. It was not unuſual, that one acre of barley ſold for twenty guineas, the year's product amounting to the purchaſe in fee of that acre, whilſt the ſtraw produced food for the cattle and manure; the offal fed the pig and poultry. Corn of every deſcription bore a proportionate price, and ſupplied proportionate profit.

Under

Under ſuch encouragement, man, not viciated by habit, had a certain ſource of advancement. Corn being the general ſtandard, regulated every other product of the earth. Cattle remunerated the capital and care of the feeder. The huſbandman took the field with joy, induſtry was crowned with its ſheaf, and the peaſant ſacrificed his hog to Epicurus.

A new ſyſtem was ariſing. The landowner was becoming ſenſible, that he who worked the ground, was the man to be encouraged, to the excluſion of that land ſhark, the middle man, *monſtrum quo non aliud ferocius*, that it never could be the proprietor's intereſt to ſeek through three or four ſucceſſions of theſe harpies—that rent, in the earning of which, they gave no toil—that juſtice, private convenience, and public good, concurred in requiring, that land ſhould be leaſed to the direct poſſeſſor—things were going on ſo.

Whether this proſperity had its riſe in the new and altering ſtate of Europe, or in this or that cauſe, I enquire not—I ſpeak of it as it exiſted—I lament it had ſo violent a check. Lands, though let at an high auction, ſtill left an immenſe profit, and you ſaw, with delight, a new creation ariſe.

Tythes (that teeming and eternal parent of diſcontent) were better paid—they never were and never will be chearfully paid; and convinced I am, that were a ſynod of all the clergy convoked, and the ſenſe of the enlightened and humane of that body taken, there would not be found one man, with the feelings of a gentleman, who would not vote for their commutation, at an under price (the price of peace and good will) for any other well-ſecured eſtabliſhment in lieu. I know not any object to which government could turn its attention with better ſucceſs, to heal the diſcontents of the people, than

that

that at preſent under conſideration. Any new arrangement would require labour and judgment, but peace would be the reward.

It is true, that many national uſages tend to depreſs the Iriſh peaſant. He marries without any ſort of capital, ſave his ſtock of gallantry. He generally has three generations to ſuſtain, his aged parents, himſelf and wife, and offspring. In England public charities exonerate the working man. The wetneſs of our climate, highly as it increaſes the fertility of the ſoil, ſtill baniſhes from the fields the huſbandman for a great portion of the year. Notwithſtanding theſe, and many other inconveniencies, Arthur Young, with the prejudices of an Engliſhman biaſſing his mind, does not heſitate to utter a paradox, that the Iriſh countryman's condition is better than the Engliſh countryman's. The comforts of the latter are of the ſhewy kind,

better lodged and more neatly; but in Ireland better fed. He prefers the Iriſhman's pig to the Engliſhman's no pig—the Iriſhman's bellyful to the Engliſhman's no bellyful—the Iriſhman's cow to the Engliſhman's no cow. The cattle and family all huddled together to the whited walls, and range of china ware. However the compariſon may ſtand, it is evident to the moſt uninformed, that the country abounded in reſources for the poor, for bettering their condition. The whole ſyſtem underwent a great change, and every man throughout the land felt and expreſſed his knowledge of it.

The man of trade found means not only to expand his capital, but alſo to grow into a ſituation of ſuch independence, as to emulate the higheſt ſtateſman in ſplendor of ſtyle, and profuſion of living. From neceſſaries, his paſſage was rapid to obtain leiſure to traduce that eſtabliſhment, under

under which he had been raiſed, protected, and ſecured—if any body in the ſtate has a deep intereſt in the preſervation of that conſtitution, which preſerves their commerce, it is the merchant. Periods of inteſtine convulſion are to him periods of ruin; and ſhould the ambition of the French be gratified, in the annihilation of our commerce, what becomes of that claſs of men? How well the Pariſian merchants calculated on the flattering proſpect of acquiring our trade, when they went into the ſcheme of voluntary contributions, to fit out the *army of England.*

Towns were building—cities almoſt doubled—the fertility of the country improved, by means of high encouragement—the price of labour increaſed—commerce extended—conceſſions made to the people—free trade granted—the independence of our judges eſtabliſhed—a bleſſing

ſing in any country of the higheſt importance to the pure adminiſtration of juſtice—the reſtoration of the appellate juriſdiction, with a long liſt of concomitant advantages reſulting therefrom. Theſe, and ſuch like conceſſions, narrowed down the objects of popular clamour, to two points—points certainly of much magnitude—the former a queſtion of great complexity—the latter of conſiderable jealouſy—I mean parliamentary reform, and catholic emancipation.

Under ſuch circumſtances, was it wiſe to daſh into all the myſteries of revolution? Were theories of a government, the moſt deſpotic and inſulting, to ſtand in force here? Were their oppreſſions, like our freedom? Was their miſery like our proſperity? Our ſtate compared to theirs, then or now, is hyperion to a ſatyr. Were I to graduate the defects of both inſtitutions on a ſcale, thoſe of France would

would come up to twenty, whilſt thoſe of Ireland would not come to four; and theſe, like the peſtilences of the night, were vaniſhing before the riſing ſun of better policy.

As the ideas of relation better determine by compariſon the poſitive ſtate of things, I will tranſcribe a few, mayhap not the moſt prominent abuſes which exiſted under the old French deſpotiſm, and thereby ſhew, that if the people of that country were juſtified in overturning the old tyranny, this country, though it may and does rejoice in the event, ſhould not view itſelf in the ſame point of ſuffering.

The groſs infamy which attended *letres de cachet* and the baſtile, during the whole reign of Louis XV. made them eſteemed in England by people not well informed, as the moſt prominent features

tures of the deſpotiſm of France, they were certainly carried to an exceſs hardly credible—to the length of being ſold with *blanks* to be filled up with names, at the pleaſure of the purchaſer, who was thus able, in the gratification of private revenge, to tear a man from the boſom of his family, and bury him in the bottom of a dungeon, where he would exiſt forgotten, and die unknown. But ſuch exceſſes could not be common in any country, and they were reduced almoſt to nothing from the acceſſion of the late king. The great maſs of the people, by whom, I mean the lower and middle ranks, could ſuffer very little from ſuch engines; and as few of them are objects of jealouſy, had there been nothing elſe to complain of, it is not probable they ever would have been brought to take arms.

The

The abuſes attending the levy of taxes were heavy and univerſal. The kingdom was parcelled into *generalities* with an *intendant* at the head of each, into whoſe hands the whole power of the crown was delegated for every thing, except the military authority, particularly for all affairs of finance. The generalities were ſub-divided into elections, at the head of which was a *ſubdelegue*, appointed by the Intendant. The rolls of the *taille capitation vingtiemes*, and other taxes, were diſtributed among the diſtricts, pariſhes, and individuals, at the pleaſure of the *intendant*, who could exempt, change, add, or diminiſh at pleaſure. Such an enormous power conſtantly acting, and from which no man was free, might, in the nature of things, degenerate in many caſes into actual tyranny. It muſt be obvious, that the friends, acquaintances, and dependents of the *intendants* and *ſubdelegues*, and the friends of theſe friends, to a long chain of de-

 pendence,

pendence, might be favoured in taxation, at the expenſe of their miſerable neighbours; and that noblemen in favour at court, to whoſe protection the intendant himſelf would naturally look up, could find little difficulty in throwing the weight of their taxes on others, without a ſimilar ſupport. Inſtances, and even groſs ones, have been reported to me in many parts of the kingdom, that made me ſhudder at the oppreſſion to which numbers muſt have been condemned, by the undue favours granted to ſuch crooked influence. But without recurring to ſuch caſes, what muſt have been the lot of poor people paying heavy taxes, from which the nobility and clergy were exempted? A cruel aggravation of their miſeries, to ſee thoſe who could beſt afford to pay exempted, becauſe able!—The enrolments for the militia, which the *cahiers* call an injuſtice without example, were another dreadful ſcourge on the peaſantry; and, as married

ried men were exempted from it, occasioned, in ſome degree, that miſchievous population, which brought beings into the world, in order for little elſe than to be ſtarved. The *corvees*, or police of the roads, were annually the ruin of many hundreds of farmers—more than three hundred were reduced to beggary in filling up one vale in Lorraine. All theſe oppreſſions fell on the *tiers etat* only—the nobility and clergy having been equally exempted from *tailles*, *militia* and *corvees*. The penal code of finance makes one ſhudder at the horrors of puniſhment inadequate to the crime. A few features will ſufficiently characterize the old government of France.

It is calculated that on an average there were ſent every year to the gallies, or to priſon, 2,340 men, 896 women, 201 children. Total, 3,437. Three hundred of theſe to the gallies. The ſalt confiſcated

from theſe miſerable, amounted to 12,633 quintals, which, at the mean price of 8 livres, amounts to - - 101,064 liv.

| | |
|---|---|
| 2772lb. of ſalted fleſh, - | 1,386 |
| 1986 horſes, at 50 liv. - | 54,300 |
| 52 carts, at 150 liv. - | 7,800 |
| Fines, - - - - - | 53,207 |
| Seized in houſes, - - | 105,530 |
| Total livres, | 323,287 |

A miſerable liſt of ſuffering inflicted on the moſt miſerable of the human race. No poverty could exceed theirs. It was not unuſual to ſee a French peaſant walk ſix miles with a pair of fowl to ſell for *ſix ſols*.

*The inequality of the following penalties will alſo demonſtrate, that the firſt principles of a free conſtitution were wanting.*

1. Smug-

1. Smugglers of ſalt, armed and aſſembled, to the number of five, in Provence, a fine of 500 livres, and nine years gallies; in all the reſt of the kingdom, death.

2. Smugglers armed, aſſembled, but in number under five, a fine of 300 livres, if not paid, three years gallies. Second offence, death.

3. Smugglers without arms, but with horſes, carts, or boats, a fine of 300 liv. if not paid, three years gallies. Second offence, 400 livres, and nine years gallies. In Dauphine, ſecond offence, gallies for life. In Provence, five years gallies.

4. Smugglers, who carry the ſalt on their backs, and without arms, a fine of 200 livres, and if not paid, are flogged and branded. Second offence, a fine of 300 livres, and ſix years gallies.

Women,

5. Women, married and ſingle, ſmugglers, firſt offence, a fine of 100 livres. Second, 300 livres. Third, flogged, and baniſhed the kingdom for life. Huſbands reſponſible both in fine and body.—*Horrid injuſtice.*

6. Children ſmugglers, the ſame as women. Fathers and mothers reſponſible; and for defect of payment, flogged.

7. Nobles, if ſmugglers, deprived of their nobility, and their houſes raſed to the ground.

8. Any perſons in employments, if ſmugglers, death. And ſuch as aſſiſt in the theft of ſalt in the tranſport, hanged.

9. Soldiers ſmuggling, with arms, are hanged; without arms, gallies for life.

10. Buy-

10. Buying ſmuggled ſalt to reſel it; the ſame puniſhments as for ſmuggling.

11. Perſons employed in the ſalt ſervice, empowered if two, or one with two witneſſes, to enter and examine houſes even of the privileged orders.

12. All families, and perſons liable to the *taille*, in the province of Grandes Gabelles enroled, and their conſumption of ſalt for the pot and ſaliere (that is the daily conſumption, excluſive of ſalting meat, &c. &c.) eſtimated at 7lb. a head per annum, which quantity they are forced to buy, whether they want it or not, under the pain of various fines, according to the caſe.

*Our penal code on revenue exhibits no ſuch ſevere, or capricious, or inadequate puniſhments; they generally extend to fines. What can be ſo abhorrent from all ſentiments of juſtice, as to make*

*make a husband criminally answerable for the offence of a wife, or parents for the offences of their children? It is vice in the laws, which should of itself bring down the vengeance of a people. Beside the punishments, the taxes themselves were odious and oppressive. There is scarcely in Europe a prosperous country so little taxed as Ireland.*

The *capitainetries*, under the old government, were another dreadful scourge. By that term is understood, the paramountship of certain districts, granted by the king to princes of the blood, by whom they were put in possession of the property of all game, even on lands not belonging to them; and, what is singular, on manors not belonging to them; and, what is very singular, on manors granted long before to individuals; so that the erecting of a district into a *capitainerie*, was an annihilation of all manorial rights to game within it. This was a trifling business,

in

in comparison of other circumstances; for, in speaking of the preservation of the game in these *capitaineries*, it must be observed, that by game must be understood whole droves of wild boars, and herds of deer not confined to any wall or pale, but wandering at large over the whole country, to the destruction of crops; and to the peopling of gallies by the wretched peasants, who presumed to kill them, in order to save that food which was to support their wretched children.

The game in the capitainerie of *Monteau*, in four parishes, did mischief to the amount of 184,263 livres per annum. No wonder then we should find the people asking, *nous demandons a grand cris la destruction des capitaineries, & celle de toute sorte de gibier.*

And what are we to think of demanding, as a favour, the permission—*de nettoyer ses grains de foucher les pres artificiels & d'enlever*

*ſes chaumes ſans egard pour la perdrix ou tout autre gibier.*

Now, an Engliſh reader will ſcarcely underſtand it, without being told, that theſe numerous edicts for preſerving the game, which prohibited weeding and hoeing, leſt the young partridges ſhould be diſturbed.

Steeping ſeed, leſt it ſhould injure the game; manuring with night ſoil, leſt the flavour of the partrdiges ſhould be injured by feeding on corn ſo produced; mowing hay, &c. before a certain time, ſo late as to ſpoil many crops, and taking away the ſtubble, which would deprive the birds of ſhelter. The tyranny exerciſed in theſe capitaineries, which extended over 400 leagues of country, was ſo great, that many *cahiers* demanded the utter ſuppreſſion of them. Such were the exertions of arbitrary power which the

lower

lower claſſes felt directly from the royal authority; but, heavy as they were, it is a queſtion whether the others ſuffered circuitiouſly through the nobility and clergy, were not yet more oppreſſive. Nothing can exceed the complaints made in the *cahiers* under this head. They ſpeak of the diſpenſations of juſtice in the manorial courts, as compriſing every ſpecies of deſpotiſm.—Diſtricts indeterminate—appeals endleſs—irreconcileable to liberty and proſperity—and irrevocably proſcribed in the opinion of the public—augmenting litigations—favouring every ſpecies of chicane—ruining the parties, not only by enormous expenſes on the moſt petty objects, but a dreadful loſs of time.—The judges, commonly ignorant pretenders, who hold their courts in *cabarets*, and are abſolutely dependent on the ſeigneurs, in conſequence of their feudal powers. They are called *vexations qui ſont le plus grand fleau des peuples.*

The different eſtates voted againſt them, and that the *feodalite* be for ever aboliſhed.—By theſe uſages, the countryman was tyrannically enſlaved; fixed and heavy rents; vexatious proceſſes to ſecure them; appreciated unjuſtly to augment them; fines on every change of property, in the direct as well as collateral line; feudal redemption; fines on ſales on the 8th and even on the 6th penny; redemptions injurious in their origin, and ſtill more ſo in their exterior; *banatile* of the mill, and of the oven, and of the wine and cyder preſs.—By this law, the people were bound to grind their corn at the mill of the ſeigneur only; to preſs their grapes at his preſs only; and to bake their bread at his oven; by which means the bread is often ſpoiled, and more eſpecially wine; ſince in Champagne thoſe grapes which, preſſed immediately, would make white-wine, will, by waiting for the preſs, which often happens, make red only.—Corvees

by

by cuſtom; corvees by uſage of the fief, corvees, extravagant and even phantaſtical; collections by aſſeſſments irreconcileable to liberty; the rod of ſeigneural finance for ever ſhaken over their heads; vexation, ruin, outrage, violence, and deſtructive ſervitude, under which the peaſants, almoſt on a level with the Poliſh ſlaves, can never be but vile, miſerable, and oppreſſed.—The cahiers demand alſo, that the uſe of hand-mills be free; and that poſterity, if poſſible, may be ignorant that feudal tyranny in Bretagne, armed with the judicial power, has not bluſhed even in theſe times, at breaking hand-mills, and at felling annually to the miſerable, the faculty of bruiſing between two ſtones a meaſure of buck wheat or barley.—The very terms of thoſe complaints are unknown in England, and conſequently *intranſlatable*: they have probably ariſen long ſince the feudal ſyſtem ceaſed in this kingdom. One tax deſerves par-

ticular

ticular notice—*ſilence de grenouilles.* When the lady of the ſeigneur lies in, the people are obliged to *beat the waters* in marſhy countries, to keep the frogs ſilent, that ſhe may not be diſturbed; this duty, a very oppreſſive one, is commuted into a fine.

In paſſing through many of the provinces, I was ſtruck with the various and heavy complaints of the farmers, and the little proprietors of the feudal grievances, with the weight of which their induſtry was burdened; but I could not then perceive the multiplicity of the ſhackles which kept them poor and depreſſed. I underſtood it better afterwards, from the converſation and complaints of ſome grand ſeigneurs, as the revolution advanced; and I then learned, that the principal rental of many eſtates conſiſted in ſervices and feudal tenure; by the baneful influence of which, the induſtry of the people was almoſt exterminated.

The

The conduct of the parliaments was profligate and atrocious. Upon almoſt every cauſe which came before them, intereſt was openly made with the judges; and woe betide the man who had a cauſe to ſupport, had no means of conciliating favour, either by the beauty of a handſome wife, or by other methods. They iſſued decrees without the power of the crown, and even againſt his conſent. *Out of inſtances innumerable, one will ſuffice.* Innoculation was favoured by the court in the reign of Louis XV.; but the parliament of Paris paſſed an arret againſt it, much more powerful in prohibiting the practice, than the favour of the court in encouraging it.—Inſtances are innumerable; and I may remark, that the bigotry, ignorance, and falſe principles, and tyranny of theſe bodies, were generally conſpicuous; and that the court (taxation excepted) never had a diſpute with a parliament, but the

parliament

parliament was ſure to be wrong. Their conſtitution, in reſpect to the adminiſtration of juſtice, was ſo truly rotten, that the members ſat as judges, even in cauſes of private property, in which they were themſelves the parties, and have, in this capacity, been guilty of oppreſſions and cruelties, which the crown has rarely dared to attempt.

I aſk, had the *Iriſh* peaſant ſeigneural oppreſſions? Had he exactions of feudal ſervices? Could any man in the ſtate force his labour? Were the game deſtroying his corn? Or were his children dying around him for want of bread, in conſequence of the deſtruction of his tillage by the deer or the wild boar? Was he fleeced by the mockery of juſtice? Was the judicial ſeat ever filled in any country with a more ſpotleſs, and enlightened, and patient, and ſteady ſet of men, *omni exceptione majores*, holding

even

holding *even* in thoſe perilous and ſcambling times, the ſcale ballanced, between the crown and the people, and rather the objects of cenſure with the former than with the latter. See ſtate trials, and contraſt the conduct of the then judges with that of the preſent, particularly in the caſes of *Sidney, colonel Tilburn, and lord William Ruſſell.* This ariſing from the happineſs of a good conſtitution, and the pure adminiſtration of the laws, is proof as ſtrong *as that of holy writ,* that things are not as they have been dinned into the popular ear. Is there a peaſant in the land who could not get compenſation in damages for one hour's abridgement of his liberty? Is he not a fortunate man if his landlord aſſaults him? Is it not as good as a receipt in full for all arrears in rent? Is tyranny, like the circulating fluid, pervading the maſſes of poverty and wretchedneſs? Does oppreſſion beat on them from every quarter, or

what had we in this iſland, in the nature of abuſe, which had any the ſlighteſt reſemblance, to the ſlighteſt of thoſe, which exiſted in that inſulting and oppreſſive liſt, I have ſo painfully detailed. *Poverty is our misfortune—We have liberty.*

Is the authority of any the moſt powerful without checks, and limitations ſo ſtrong, as to bind him under the laws? Have we not a ſufficient portion of the republican form of government; and if we had much more, would not its inſtability, and the aguiſh alternations of popular ferment, be prodigious drawbacks from its imputed cheapneſs and purity? Have any of them been found to promote the happineſs of man ſo well as when mixed, as in the Britiſh conſtitution. *Junius* himſelf admits *that its form is republican.* Arguments drawn from infant America are ſpeculative

tive; it has not gone far, nor lived long enough to make it be drawn into proof. Nothing can manifeſt the great portion of the republican form living in our conſtitution, more than that the two leaders in the Engliſh parliament are of the people unpropertied; and having no claim to ſuch pre-eminence, but from the higheſt *(and often, too often, the loweſt of all human claims*—TALENTS*)*, to them the proudeſt peer, prelate, and potentate, ſtoop their heads; and, under the banner of the lord of the aſcendant for the day, marſhall themſelves in undergraduate ſtations. It is not the bloated ſuper-cargo that rules the veſſel of ſtate—it is to the hardy, and poor, and intelligent mariners, it is committed.

The great ſuperiority which is imputed to republics is, that the people can reſume the power, and caſhier their governors whenever they chooſe.—If govern-

ments are made for the benefit of mankind, I would rather be of opinion, with an eminent and claſſical writer on the laws, that it matters not ſo much what the laws are, as that they ſhould be certain.—I thus apply his maxim, that man enjoys, a greater portion of happineſs, and permanent ſecurity, even under a ſomewhat inferior government, than he does under one of more ideal purity, which may be toſſed by every wind. Incertainty deſtroys all notions of happineſs.

Reflection has ſo little to do with the great maſſes of mankind, and paſſion ſo much, that few have time to lead the public mind to ſee what the true point of intereſt is; or, that amidſt the perpetual changes which human affairs undergo, intereſts ſhift; and that which would have been yeſterday of the higheſt advantage, this day may aſſume a diametrically oppoſite appearance.

It

It has been long a favourite project with many in this country, to rip up all the clinks and holds by which we were bound to England. Dean Swift has frequently thrown it out in hints. It was reſerved for practical purpoſes, for the diſcoveries of theſe laſt ten years, to reſcind all the degrading ligaments by which we were fettered. Some Alexander was to have cut the *gordian knot*, aſſiſted by an Hoche—*Hibernicus*, through whoſe charitable and diſintereſted interference, we were to meet Great Britain on ſome fancied plain, and adjuſt the future terms of reciprocal independent intereſts. Giddy hope of ill-calculating ſpeculation. The genius of French liberty would not vaniſh at the beck of thy wand—ſhe would ſoon change her mild and beautiful aſpect into black and ſullen ſelfiſhneſs—ſhe would demand her reward—ſhe would plunder you of your capital—ſhe would plunder you of your trade

trade—ſhe would plunder you of your liberties.

That nation, which enjoys a great portion of ſocial happineſs, which conſents to have her liberties endangered by a violent conteſt for a ſpeculative good, neither has wiſdom to value the rare bleſſing ſhe enjoys, nor to reflect on the dangers to which ſhe becomes expoſed.

We know we poſſeſs a poſitive bleſſing. Who can calculate the endleſs miſeries we may ſuſtain; and it is the moſt miſerable defect of our miſerable blindneſs that human intellect will not reaſon from cauſes, but muſt be taught by experience alone. If Ireland was as large as Borneo, and as populous as China, ſeparation would be her intereſt, and ſhe would have it.

If ſeparation could at any time be a bleſſing, in the altered ſtate of European in-

intereſt, I am convinced it would now be the deſtruction of this country. The conflict to effect it, would leave us without any power of reſtoration. France would, as is natural, conſult her own intereſts, and leave us in dolorous cadence of bitteresſt ſelf-reproach, to ſigh out our unavailing appeal to heaven—*Utinam ſic fortuna manſiſſet.*

It would be tiring the reader's attention to draw on hiſtory for proofs of Roman rapacity exerciſed over their provinces. The French nation avowedly purſue their plans, and are forming themſelves on their character—reaſoning, that ſimilar cauſes will produce ſimilar effects. Warned by oppreſſions exerciſed over the Dutch, and Italians, and Swiſs, had we wanted thoſe *living and recent examples*, would we not be able to infer from principle, that we ſhould be treated as a French province.

It

It would be drawing doubly deep the reader's attention, to detail the plunder of *Verres*, in Sicily, or the merciless rapacity of the Roman *commissioners* (mark the word) exercised over the *Achæans*.

French ambition likely to scourge mankind for some time (if the connected policy of Europe does not awake from its trance, and oppose certain barriers to it), wants this bit of ground on which to stand, and then will move the whole world. France is the common centre, round which all Europe is to move in revolutionary dance. I ask, in the spirit of seriousness, should the commerce of England by any fatality be destroyed, and the greatness of England, and its rank in the scale of nations be extinguished, what are we to expect? Is it not too fottishly irrational to conceive, that this island will rise like a phœnix from her ashes? Are we not morally certain lamed, and

crip-

crippled, and exhauſted, by the contention of a divided and hard-fought people, that we muſt fall beneath the French yoke! And then no England to ſuſtain our cauſe—then would we have no chance, by our menaces, to frighten the *great nation* into terms—*then the ſword of Damocles was fallen*—then would we have no chance, by her broils, to profit, and work ourſelves up—England was no more; and, Ireland cut with remorſe for her folly, hung her hopeleſs head, and then her harp emitted no ſounds but thoſe of woe!

When this ſeparating ſyſtem originated, France exhibited no ſuch horrific features as ſhe has lately done. She only aimed at eſtabliſhing her own government, and confining herſelf within her natural limits.—Ireland, North of Ireland—I addreſs you by all the ties which bind man to his country—reflect—pauſe before you con-

ſent to a ſpeculation which may enſlave Europe. You have been happy—you know not what you may be—you, whoſe wiſdom gives tone and energy to the reſt of the country, reflect!—Whether Britiſh character is outdone by French—whether the tygers or monkeys claw once got amongſt us, will not be found too hard for the ſoft and generous Iriſhman—whether the early hiſtory of this kingdom, and the prejudices ariſing therefrom, ſhould not now be forgotten, and conſigned to the ſame common tomb—whether you will plunge into a troubled ocean, without chart or compaſs—and, finally, enlightened people of the North, ſee what is the country worth to the few ſurvivors of a divided people, who muſt become an eaſy prey to the next power which chuſes to enter, as in caſe of a *vacant poſſeſſion*.

Illuſtrate the aim of this country, on the ſubject of ſeparation, by the indiſcreet

erect plucking unripe fruit for future use. In that ſtate, the unnatural avulſion brings on ſhrivel and decay. The fruit itſelf will drop when it gets to that ſeaſon of maturity which nature intended. Conſider whether ſeparation, at any time, would be an advantage—my own honeſt judgment is, that in the preſent ſtate of Europe, and circumſtanced as England is, it would be the deſtruction of Ireland.—Would Sweden ſeparate from England if ſhe were connected? Would Holland? Would the Netherlands? Theſe arguments, which determine my underſtanding, I have given to the beſt of my leiſure, and I wiſh moſt ſincerely, that ſhould any be found to act on contrary principles, they may be found as little biaſſed by any unworthy motive, as the compiler of theſe few hints.

Conſider the appropriate ſtaple of your country—how will you bear to ſee your

linen trade, the ſource of proſperity to a large and opulent portion of the nation transplanted to its original ſoil, the fertile and induſtrious Netherlands.

Conſider, the meditated change threatens that—conſider, that England is your principal mart—conſider, that to her protection you owe the advancement of that material branch of trade. That commerce being once made to change its bed, you cannot eaſily make it return to its wonted channel. That you have eſtabliſhments made from the expenditure of large capitals in neceſſary implements and accommodation—theſe capitals cannot be transferred by means of the decay of that trade; it muſt bring on the univerſal bankruptcy of your country.

MEN OF THE NORTH, teach the people of Ireland, that reſting on your ſpears, your pauſe has been the pauſe of deep reflec-

reflection—teach them, that your common jealouſies ſhould not exaſperate you to madneſs; that the theories of polity, which France has thrown out, have made ſuch impreſſions on the mind of Europe, that the general intereſts of mankind will be more reſpected—teach them it is impoſſible, in the very boſom of civilized Europe, that the juſt and rational views of ſuch a people as the Iriſh can be neglected. Impreſs on them, by your cool example, that the ſeaſon of political fever, is not that in which fits of appetite are to be indulged, leſt ſuch indulgence ſhould bring the patient to delirium.

I am anticipated in recommending pardon; it has been granted at that moment, which the Roman moraliſt recommends, when the tranſgreſſor ſhews ſymptoms of repentance.

Cæſar

Cæſar burned the papers of the conſpirators—he thereby manifeſted his wiſdom and humanity. *Ignoſcendo* was one of the fineſt and moſt valuable traits in his character; its humanity has recommended him to poſterity. Nothing would ſo effectually tend to heal the wounds of this country, as mutual forgetfulneſs; by ſuch conduct on both ſides, ſhe will ſoon reanimate. It will, or ought to excite, the gratitude and confidence of the people; and mercy, the brighteſt gem in the regal diadem, will ſhine with the luſtre of the morning ſtar.—After the battle of Culloden, in Scotland, conciliation was the ſedative which compoſed into temper that ſtubborn people. He is the beſt ſtateſman, as well as the beſt law-giver, who governs by hope and fear.

If I am well founded in my reaſoning, that ſhould England be laid in ruin by the ambition of France, working on the follies

follies and miſtakes of Ireland (and may ſuch never be her blunder); and that Ireland, after ſuch a hideous conflict, in rendering up her country as a cock-pit for both nations to decide their and her fate on; and even admitting that ſhe was able to reallize this dream of ſhaking off Engliſh domination, which ſhe can never effect, except by making a ſurrender of all thoſe ties of common intereſt, common habits, common connections, and common language, and conſents to the extinction of England, then mangled, and on crutches, ſhe muſt totter into a French infirmary. When convaleſcent, ſhe would be drawn ſomewhere near her coaſt, with a conſtitution ſo broken, and health, and ſtrength ſo enfeebled, that ſhe muſt yield to the capricious careſſes of her tyrant lover, or ſuſtain his frowns and inſults incapable of redreſs.

With ſuch a picture before us, and with ſo ſtrong a moral probability of its being but the original whence our own would be drawn, can we heſitate how to act,

Adoring civil liberty as I do—knowing that man by the cultivation of it, cultivates his eſtate—knowing that a thouſand acres in Egypt fertilized, even by the Nile, are not worth one hundred in England—knowing that he who deſtroys the free ſpirit of his country, gets only the ready money price of his own and his childrens' ſlavery. Tracing the good or evil of mankind to its true ſource, good or bad inſtitutions, and their good or bad adminiſtration, fancying ſometimes that I diſcern, in the formation of the human feature, and frame of the limbs, the plaſtic hand of the ruler, applying the miſhapeneſs and deformity of the one to the vicious, while I do the ſymmetry and

and happy organization of the healthy and vigorous ſubject to the other. Admiring every thing which has been ſaid or done in ſo ſacred a ſubject—knowing that the country of Demoſthennes was undone by cauſes, not unlike thoſe which now threaten our own—feeling and enjoying that rational and enlarging portion of liberty ſhe enjoyed—ſeeing how ſhe would be treated by foreign and ſtrange domination—anxious for the preſervation of thoſe bleſſings ſhe has hitherto poſſeſſed, I come forward to offer to the ſtate the bodings of a mind under the ſame apprehenſions for the futurity of my country, as the Scotch poet, on the ſubject of eternity, addreſſes to his mouſe—

"The preſent only toucheth thee,
"The FUTURE though I cannot ſee.
"I GUESS AND FEAR!"

Allow me to obtrude a ſlight egotiſm on the reader's conſideration, leſt this,

 which

which in the ſpirit of humility I offer, ſhould be broken in its effect. It comes from a man under no *human influence*, but the intereſt of an individual extremely private—an intereſt for the preſervation of a family by the preſervation of the ſtate—from one who is not connected with party—whoſe property is, from its inconſiderateneſs, incapable of hanging the leaſt bias on his judgment—whoſe hopes in the ſtate are only ſuch as are founded on ſeeing, that all the avenues to advancement are open to thoſe qualities which are fitted to attain them, whether in letters, in commerce, or in agriculture—who deteſts the abuſes of the governor, and ſtill more, thoſe of the demagogue—who, amidſt bloody ſcenes of devaſtation—who, amidſt charnel houſes of his own creation, ſpeculates for his perſonal aggrandizement on the regal ſceptre. May he fall with the curſes of the firſt

Cain,

Cain, who would exhauſt population to rule over a deſart.

Baſe and ſelfiſh is the viſionary who would wade through oceans of blood to bed on roſes, and banquet on ambroſia—who, for Mohamed's paradiſe, would do the deed of deſperation?

Sturdy revolutioneſt, wilt thou ſweep away, as was done in Greece, 30,000 families? Wilt thou introduce here the maſſacres of St. Bartholomew? The murders in Pariſian priſons, the horrors of Lyons, or the drowning of Nantzy? Wilt thou do all theſe for a ſpeculation?

Thou wilt ſay mine are bubbles of the mind.

Let me aſk thee, before thy heart is paralized with guilt, haſt thou calculated

the impediments which lie in the way of thyſelf and thy cauſe?

Revolution at diſtance ſeems a pleaſant game, but who is he who ever approached it without being appalled? What writer has ever given us an intimate view of its horrors? Like Saturn, it devours its own children. Rapid ſucceſſions muſt be cut down, even though they ſhould ſprout with the vegetation of the hydra's head. This ſhould retard the ambitious leader. I call upon the virtuous for his reflection; and if his aims ſtill appear to him flattering, and that he purſues them, after weighing the countleſs difficulties which impede his progreſs, and the conſtantly recuring barbarities he muſt neceſſarily exerciſe, I cannot reſpect his judgment.

He has oppoſed to him all the valuable claſſes of ſociety—he has that imperial coloſſus, the Britiſh fleet, which can emit twenty

twenty armies a day on our ſhores—he has the property of England to ſubſidize Europe, when the French fleets will not be able to reinforce—when his country will be waſted and finally vanquiſhed—he has a powerful religious party—he has the propertied catholics beſide—he has the financial reſources of this country, and of that conſolidated and powerful *unique*, England—he has a great military eſtabliſhment—he has the crying and deprecating voice of humanity—he may have new combinations in Europe, to check the devaſtating progreſs of French ambition—he has the dreadful example of 29,000 victims, already fallen in their attempts to terrify all thoſe within the pale of their influence—he has oppoſed to him the improbability of producing unity of concert—he has the improbability of invaſion—of its being ſucceſsful if made; and one circumſtance muſt ſtrongly ſtrike him, that as France has not been able, on the ſpur

of

of the occaſion, to aſſiſt rebellion in its firſt efforts, ſhould ſhe even be ſo fortunate as to brave the winter ſeas, elude the vigilance of our fleets, and make a partial landing, how can he expect that ſhe will make a ſecond or a third reinforcement, but will leave Ireland to exhauſt itſelf by civil war? or that France, which has attempted it in vain theſe three years paſt, can be ſo miraculouſly lucky as to rule the ſtorm? Should ſhe only come in ſuch force as to apply the firebrand, we will have renewed the horrors of Meath, Wexford, and Kildare. The vigilance of government is a hoſt in itſelf—the proſpect of famine ſtares the adventurer in the face—tillage has been ſtudiouſly neglected, whilſt the army can be ſupplied by the fleets—depots of corn, the growth of the country, as well as foreign, have been magazined for government uſe, and famine will be let looſe in the train of war. Depend upon it,

that

that England, whilſt ſhe is able to raiſe an arm, will not let the hard Frenchman poſſeſs this land. The conteſt may be rapid—it may be ſlow; but however decided, the child unborn will rue the conflict of the day.—Sick of the proſpect, I drop the curtain.

Should my prophecies, like thoſe of Caſſandra, be true, but unheeded, I may not be to weep over the ruins I wiſh to avert. He who decides the fate of empires is judge, how ſincerely I value the intereſts of my country; and that this my firſt offering is the gift of a heart devoted to it, and of a judgment entirely impreſſed with the truth of what I write.

One word on the BALANCE of POWER.—It is to the proper underſtanding of this principle, I aſcribe the policy of continuing this waſting war. Violently ſhaken as have been the ſcales, the eye

of

of temperate philoſophy and true liberty has been ſteadily fixed on the balance. It appeared to many that the liberties of mankind were attacked on two ſides: If the coalition ſucceeded in extinguiſhing that flame, which conſumed whilſt it enlightened France, then it was apprehended all future popular effort was checked in Europe, and its liberties ſunk. If on the other hand, France had been able to conſolidate its acquiſitions, the uſe ſhe would make of this dangerous and monſtrous power would be, to ſweep down the liberties of thoſe countries which are denominated free, and to extend her conqueſts over all others. The latter ſeems the more probable danger, both from her ambition, her talents, her population, and extent of territory, whilſt the object of the coalition is not to deſtroy France, but to tame her into regularity, and reſtore that balance, by which Europe has ſo long ſuſtained her liberties.

This

This grand principle, though ſomewhere ſaid to have originated in feudal barbariſm, has had its origin in the conſtitution of man, as an univerſal principle of common ſenſe, and has not been confined to any ſpecies of government, or time, or climate, but has been acknowledged and acted upon for ſelf-defence in the different Greek ſtates. It called out the diſcipline and rigid hardihood of the Spartan, to check the aſpiring ambition of the Athenian—it ſtrung the nerve of the ſluggiſh Theban; and whilſt theſe little ſtates held this valorous counterpoiſe, they raiſed the human mind to ſuch a degree of perfection, as to tranſmit to admiring poſterity the grace and ornament of every art, and the inventions in every ſcience. The great and leading policy of theſe conflicts continued to them the bleſſings of freedom. They feared that the liberties of all would ſink under the aggrandizement of one.—Theſe ſtates were to

each other, what the different empires in Europe are to each other; and France was likely to be to Europe, what Philip actually, and after him Alexander, were to Greece.

The great orator of antiquity cemented and roused the spirit of the confederacies. A momentary enthusiasm took place—it was but a hectic. Philip, a bold intriguer, seduced some, and terrified others from the alliance. They lost sight of that common principle of interest and attraction, the preservation of the balance of power. They crumbled off into separate atoms. Philip pushed on, and under the Macedonian, fell the liberties of Greece, and of the Eastern empire. As would under France, if not checked, those of the Western. Thence passing with rapid stride, she would strangle that infant Hercules (America) in her cradle, and finally destroy the liberties of mankind.

Can

Can we doubt the object of Buonaparte's expedition—it was thirſt of univerſal dominion.

The Romans more eaſily broke down the Volſci, the Equii, the Veii, and all the ſurrounding ſtates, and in Carthage met the ſame oppoſition that France meets from England.—Carthage was rich, it was its crime. It was a mixed government, chiefly republican, and had exiſted 500 years without any remarkable internal ſtruggle. The Numidian was drawn off from its alliance, and after three terrible wars, ſuſtained by all the valor which love of country inſpires, this barrier was removed, and the extremeſt regions ſpeedily groaned under the conqueſt, the carnage, the oppreſſions, and injuſtice of the Roman plunderers.

We ſee a balance fought for among the ſavage tribes of America—we ſee it acting in the private walks of life.

Conſidering Britain as the heart of the preſent European confederacy—conſidering Ireland as a ſub-diviſion, greater in effect than her natural ſize and importance, becauſe capable, by her diſtractions, of inflicting a deep wound on England, and thereby drawing off her attention from that combination, which is the only poſſible means of checking the devouring ambition of France. In this point of view, Ireland ſeems to have loſt ſight of her real intereſt, and to have been actuated by too near views, not the reſults of wiſdom.

FINIS.

# UNION OR NOT?

BY

## AN ORANGEMAN.

*Why do the Heathen so furiously rage together?*
*And why do the People imagine a vain thing?*

PSALM 2. 1.

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# UNION OR NOT?

TWENTY-ONE different pamphlets have already been printed on the ſubject of an Union; I have read them all without being ſatisfied, moſt of them without being convinced:—let this be my excuſe for writing.

If ever a topic fell under public diſcuſſion which demanded cool and deliberate argument, which ſhould be moſt carefully protected from the obtruſions of Frenzy and Folly, it is this great queſtion of Union:—Frenzy has intruded;—perhaps on reading what

what I ſhall write, Folly may be ſuppoſed to put in her claim.—It is not with the extatic oaths of a bedlamite barriſter, who dares to array his Creator as a party in political debate; nor yet by the ſimple abſurdity of him, who proves that a thing injurious to the majority is uſeful to all, that ſuch a queſtion ſhould be inveſtigated. Neither ſhould the good or evil of the queſtion depend upon the partial effects which an Union may be expected to produce in partial circumſtances. It is not whether Dublin or Derry, Belfaſt or Cork, ſhall be injured or benefited—diminiſhed or increaſed; whether the Bar ſhall be profited, or the Clergy aggrandized;—but whether the whole iſland, perhaps we ſhould ſay the whole empire, will be likely to find it a meaſure of advantage,—that it becomes the wiſe politician to conſider.

It

It is Swift I believe, who remarks of his countrymen, that they " uſually form an " opinion of every matter, long before they " know what the matter is in itſelf :"—In no inſtance has his ſagacity been better evinced than in the diſcuſſion of this queſtion. To ſay that an Union is bad, before we know its terms, is to ſay that no Union can be good. This is rather an haſty judgment :—for let us ſuppoſe in the way of argument, that an Union were propoſed, by which the ſeat of Imperial Government, were to be transferred from London to Dublin, and by which this city were to become the Royal reſidence, the rendezvous of the Britiſh Parliament, &c. &c, would there be a man in ſociety who could declare ſuch an Union diſadvantageous to Ireland ?

How many gradations then of Union are there between this of which we have ſpoken, (which would unqueſtionably be of incal-

culable

culable advantage) and a degrading ſubjection to Great Britain, which would ſtrip us at once of all privilege and conſequence? How many ſteps muſt there be from this undeniable good, to that which would be flagrantly ruinous? How many of the intermediate plans in this deſcent, muſt be advantageous, how many of a mixed nature, before we arrive at abſolute injury? This I conceive to be a ſufficient argument againſt any intemperate condemnation of the project, until we know the principles upon which it is to be founded.

May it be hoped that this unfortunate country is at length arrived at that waking hour, when the viſions of theory are no longer alluring; that our ſad experience has taught us the lamentable folly of ſpeculation, and the wicked abſurdity of political dreamers, who, to realize an idle fancy decked with gay conceits and gaudy metaphors, would

would plunge, as they have before done, this iſland into blood, for the horrible experiment of obſerving her agonies.

If that time be come, if the mere queſtion of Union be not on the face of it an outrage againſt reaſon, and if a plain man may ſtate a few plain arguments, then may I hope to find a few readers, even though I venture ſo late into the diſcuſſion.

Men are fond of talking of their own motives; mine are few and ſimple. By the title-page I avow myſelf an *Orangeman*; thoſe who know the honorable principles of that aſſociation, will not ſuſpect me of hoſtility to my King, my Country, or any Claſs of my Fellow-ſubjects; but while I avow my goodwill to all, my affection to Proteſtants, and amongſt Proteſtants to Orangemen in particular, is ardent and ſincere.

The

The enemies of our aſſociation have of late moſt anxiouſly ſought to engage us in this controverſy; their anxiety was enough to render us ſuſpicious; but when it appeared that this anxiety was directed towards the project of arraying us againſt a ſuppoſed meaſure of the King's Government, it proved their malevolence.

A *late* meaſure, (I need not mention it publicly,) has rendered this malevolence abortive; and ſo fairly has the ſubject been left to diſcuſſion, that amongſt the deareſt friends, we have witneſſed the moſt decided diverſity of opinion on this political ſubject, without the ſlighteſt tincture of unkindneſs.

Not to delay too long from the main queſtion, let me be merely underſtood to ſpeak the ſentiments of an individual, however I may chuſe to deſignate myſelf by a general

general deſcription, as one of a ſociety of which it is my pride to be a member.

The Lawyers have called this Union an innovation; and a large majority of them have declared againſt it *at this time*;—by this we are to ſuppoſe that they admit it may be a good thing at another time.

This admiſſion ſeems to grant every thing as to the principle of an Union, for the objection of time is one which always occurs; if the country be diſturbed, it is alleged to be miſchievous to urge any momentous meaſure,—if it is quiet, it is equally dangerous to diſturb its tranquility; ſo that in fact, the objection of time is like the procraſtinating diſpoſition of a man who brings himſelf to think that every thing may be better done to-morrow than to-day, when it is by indolence, and an averſion to trouble that he is really actuated.

But this objection will not weigh with the wiſe and honeſt paſtor, who finds the diſeaſed prodigal on his bed of ſickneſs, worn out with frantic debauchery,—he will then tell him, that the ſeaſon of pain is the ſeaſon of reformation,—that the afflictions with which he has been viſited ſhould excite him to an alteration of his conduct,—and that in the calamities enſuing from his errors, he ſhould ſee the neceſſity of avoiding thoſe errors in future: ſuch would be the doctrine of the pious teacher, and thus might he ſnatch from deſtruction the recovered penitent.

Has not Ireland had her ſeaſon of calamity? Have not her calamities ariſen within herſelf—ſhall we add—from her own miſconduct? And is not this the moment when an alteration of conduct ſhould be determined upon?

Shall

Shall we look to Wexford, to Roſs, Kildare, and the long catalogue of promiſcuous carnage, to ſpecify our calamities,—to the ſtreets of Dublin black with mournings, for fathers, huſbands, children, and friends, the victims of the moſt bloody rebellion that ever diſgraced human nature?—No, every man feels in his own circle, ſomething to deplore; the icy hand of Horror has been laid upon us all, and we ſtill ſhudder at the dreadful recollection.

Whence have theſe calamities ariſen? On one ſide you will be told, from the refuſal of Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform—from diviſions upon abſtract terms!!—Look a little farther, and you will perceive the very original agitators of theſe queſtions, confeſſing and avowing that their object was a Separation from England.—And why? Becauſe, either they deſired a connection with France, or an opportunity of putting

putting into effect, the new principles of that country. To realiſe theſe theories, forty thouſand lives have been loſt, our faireſt diſtricts have become uninhabitable deſerts, and the country has received a ſhock which for many years it will not recover.

All this from the indulgence of political ſpeculation, from a deſire to new mould and faſhion our Parliament, and turn our Conſtitution into every ſtrange ſhape into which a few fanciful men wiſhed to have it tortured.

To effect this deſign, its projectors, about ſeven years ago, began to conſider whom they might employ as the under labourers of their project; they pitched upon the Iriſh Papiſts; and no ſmall pains were taken to perſuade that claſs of people; whoſe prejudices againſt Proteſtants, carefully nurſed by their prieſts, had moſt obſti-

nately

nately held out againſt all the increaſing kindneſs of forty years; that they were grievouſly oppreſſed by the Proteſtants, and that they (the projectors) were their only friends.

The good-natured Proteſtants, upon their requeſt, granted them ſome privileges, of which their former miſconduct had deprived them; this emboldened the Papiſts,—and inſtead of requeſts, demands were made.

Let not the reader be alarmed, the hiſtory of Ireland for that period, is too complex and tedious to be detailed by me; it is only neceſſary to obſerve, that from this beginning came all our misfortunes; that the politics of Ireland for that period, have been of every motley colour and complexion: our Parliament refuſing with indignation, and admitting with ſervility, the increaſing demands of Popery,—enacting ſtrong laws,

approving

approving weak meaſures, applauding a Proteſtant, and courting a Popiſh Lord Lieutenant—in ſhort,

"Every thing by fits, and nothing long."

And this, while one regular, ſteady, and conſiſtent Adminiſtration has directed the helm of Great Britain, till ſhe has attained a ſituation, which makes her the dread and envy of all the world.

The Conſtitution of Ireland is the ſame as that of Great Britain, one eſtate of Parliament is the ſame; where then are we to look for this diverſity of conduct, but in ſome error in the adminiſtration of the two other eſtates of the Legiſlature?

That error is ſuppoſed to exiſt in their being diſtinct from, and not connected with the two ſimilar eſtates in Great Britain. It is truly ſaid, that as long as the King of both countries

countries reſides in Great Britain, his adviſers for the government of both kingdoms muſt be the ſame perſons: the Conſtitution ſuppoſes the King to be adviſed by his Miniſters, and it is impoſſible for us to conceive that his real adviſers, immediately near his perſon, ſhall not have more weight with him, than his nominal adviſers, who live in Ireland, and probably never have an audience above once in a twelvemonth.

It is alſo pretty well known, that the King's Miniſters are uſually nominated by the prevailing party in the Britiſh Parliament; it was ſo in the caſe of the late Lord Chatham and the preſent Mr. Fox, who were both appointed Miniſters, though perſonally diſliked by their Sovereign. Thus then nothing is plainer, (without any imputation of corruption or intrigue) than that the King, under the preſent ſyſtem, is adviſed by the ſervants of a Parliament excluſively Britiſh.

This

This Miniſter is then ſuppoſed to act for the advantage of his own excluſive country, he adviſes the appointment of ſuch Lord Lieutenant, as ſhall be moſt uſeful for his purpoſes, and by that Lord Lieutenant, the affairs of Ireland are conducted,—by the Servant of the Servant of the Britiſh Parliament. Let us not impute ill motives to any men; but let us look at the Iriſh Parliament for the laſt twenty years, and we ſhall find, that though Lord Lieutenants have varied, Parliament has never varied in its approbation of every one of them.'

Suppoſe it were otherwiſe, what would be the conſequence, the Britiſh and Iriſh Parliaments diſagree;—where is their Umpire? the Crown cannot interfere, the Crown is indeed bound to conſult the good of the empire; but I know not any power, with which it is inveſted to decide the diſputes of independent Legiſlatures.

In

In the year 1782, our gallant Volunteers enforced the claim of our Legiſlature to independence, by their ſervices to the empire as much as by their remonſtrances in arms; but are we to reſort always to a military deciſion of our concerns with our fellow-ſubjects? muſt we wage our battle upon every point of political controverſy?

Two men, the neareſt and beſt friends, ſons of the ſame parents, will not always perfectly agree in ſentiment;—how then can two Legiſlatures, compoſed of many men, be expected always to coincide? Indeed the obedience of our Legiſlature has been accounted for, but in a way ſo odious, that it ſhould not be our wiſh to continue its conſiſtency at ſo dear a price.

But ſay the democrats, all this argument applies to Separation as well as to Union, if our preſent ſtate be bad, let us renounce

the connection altogether, rather than, &c. then follows uſually a good deal of rant about independence and imperial dignity, which I look upon to be pretty nearly as good argument, as the ravings of a maniac for his ſtraw coronet and wooden ſceptre.

To anſwer the main objection, that the argument goes to a Separation, let us turn to the confeſſion of one of the moſt ſagacious traitors who ever dreamed of that project:—he confeſſes that for many years this country muſt be crippled by England; that is to ſay, that if we ſeparated from Great Britain in an hoſtile way, we could not ſend fiſhing boat out of our harbours to catch a herring for our food: ſuch an admiſſion, qualified indeed by Mr. Emmet, with the probable ruin of Great Britain at the ſame time, affords us no great comfort; ſociety in affliction may ſerve to alleviate miſery, but who would plunge into ruin for the diabolical

diabolical pleaſure of ſeeing another ſuffer in company ?

But look at the map of Europe, ſee our northern, eaſtern, and ſouthern coaſt geographically ſurrounded by Great Britain; compare the relative magnitude of the iſlands; examine then their relative ſtrength, and ſee whether they are not naturally deſigned for connection; whether ſeparation, and the poſſible conſequence of hoſtility, would not ſubject and deſtroy at leaſt the ſmaller, if in the fulfilment of Mr. Emmet's malignant hope, it did not plunge both into one common ruin.

Theſe are external arguments againſt ſeparation; how many internal motives does our ſituation offer, for the neareſt poſſible connexion!—I ſay our, for now I conſider the queſtion as an Orangeman—a loyal Iriſh Proteſtant.

Six

Six hundred years have now gone by, ſince the firſt intimate connexion grew between England and Ireland. For the firſt three hundred years, the anceſtors of many of us ſuſtained a kind of colonial uſurpation againſt the Iriſh natives. Arts, cultivation, and induſtry were introduced by the Engliſh; the ſettled property of land, and the dwelling together in towns, perhaps as much from neceſſity as choice, all theſe circumſtances diſtinguiſhed them from the Iriſh.

It is now too late to queſtion the title of our forefathers, we may therefore admit that the Iriſh reaſonably conſidered them as uſurpers; add to this the rude and indolent habits of the natives, the unſettled tenure of property, which was ſubject to daily partition, and their roving mode of life, and we ſhall not be ſurpriſed at their anioſitmy againſt the Engliſh:—the *Caſhnawaga* is not at this day the friend of the American ſettler.

The

The Reformation in ſome degree changed the direction of this animoſity, but did not abate its fury; the ignorance of the lower Iriſh retained them under the dominion of their prieſts, the Engliſh on the contrary became, generally ſpeaking, Proteſtants,—and although ſome of the Engliſh deſcendants continued Papiſts, and a few of the Iriſh became Proteſtants, yet the diſtinction of Iriſh and Engliſh reſolved itſelf gradually into that of Papiſt and Proteſtant; while the rancour of the former, whetted anew by ſuperſtition and bigotry, raged as violently as before.

Hence did it happen, that the ſame hoſtile diſpoſition towards England, which in Edward the Second's reign, urged them to call upon Edward Bruce to be their King, invited ſucceſſively, the King of Spain, the Pope, James the Second, and the French Directory, to rend aſunder the connection between the two iſlands; ſeparation from England, and not

not a diſlike of foreign connection, was the motive of all theſe wars, the ſpring of all the maſſacres which have ſtained this country, from the bridge of Portadown to the ſtrands of Wexford.

In the ſame proportion as they have ſought this ſeparation, have they proved their hatred of their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects. A pregnant inſtance of that hatred, ſaved this country laſt ſummer: the northern Diſſenters, whom ſpeculating demagogues had talked into rebellion, and wheedled into an alliance with the Papiſts, when they found that the old perſecuting ſpirit of their new aſſociates burſt forth inſtantly, on their acquiſition of power,—when they heard of the cruel maſſacres of Wexford and Enniſcorthy, where rebellion for a ſhort time was triumphant, they became affrighted at their own miſconduct, they awoke from their dreams of Reform and Separation, and each man, ſhocked

at

at the atrocities of his allies, or fearing for himſelf, the inſurgents of Ulſter liſtened to the voice of Truth and Reaſon, and quietly returned to their looms and their ſenſes.

The cant of liberality had been employed to rouſe theſe men into arms, conſiderations of perſonal ſafety induced them to return to peace.

Setting aſide then all declamation, which is only a comment upon the cant of the day, let us ſincerely aſk ourſelves as Proteſtants, could it be poſſible for us to exiſt in this iſland ſeparate from Great Britain? is the ferocious ſpirit of intolerant Popery ſo tamed, or ſo likely to become tame, as to ſuffer our exiſtence upon any terms, when Popery ſhall be predominant? and aſſuredly, ſeparate from Great Britain, the Proteſtants of Ireland would at leaſt be outnumbered two to one, by their implacable enemies.

This

This then is my argument: geographically, a ſeparation ought not to be; politically, it cannot be without ruin to Ireland at leaſt; and practically, for the Proteſtant intereſt I hope it may never be. So that the arguments drawn from our preſent ſituation, apply to an Union, and not to that which ought not or cannot take place,—a Separation.

Having looked at our preſent ſituation in theory, let us ſee what it is in practice.

The nature of a free Government always requires party in the ſtate. Britiſh parties, as they are immediately in the ſeat of Empire, muſt buſy themſelves about imperial concerns; all this is proper, and ſerves to check the Miniſter; but the miſery of it is, that we have in this country, minor branches of the ſame parties, and not having imperial concerns to meddle with, the whole force

of

of British faction, is, by proxy, directed in our Parliament, against the internal government of the country, and what Mr. Fox used to utter at Westminster, his telegraph, Mr. Grattan, was always found to exactly copy, however inapposite or mischievous to Ireland.

To counteract this evil, the British Minister sends over various Governors, as he finds the confusion increasing in this country, at one time we have Lord Westmorland encouraging and supporting the Protestant interest, —at another, Lord Fitzwilliam with Mr. Grattan exalting the Papists; then again, Lord Camden supporting the Constitution, and Mr. Grattan in a rage, setting the House on fire because he is turned out; and lastly we have had Lord Cornwallis, with an head full of his own opinions, attempting to govern all the complicated interests of the country, without enquiring into one of

 them,

them, diſcouraging and diſarming the Proteſtant Yeomanry who have ſaved Ireland, affronting the firſt men in the land for acquitting a Proteſtant Yeoman, accuſed by a perjured rebel; and at the ſame time ſending an avowed traitor, Mr. Sampſon, into exile—exile! to Liſbon,—and another, (Mr. Garret Byrne) who has laid waſte the whole county of Wicklow, burned the Proteſtant village of Hacketſtown to the ground, and maſſacred every Proteſtant, man, woman, and child whom he found in the country, to reſide at Stowe, in Buckinghamſhire, the Paradiſe of England, the retreat of the patriot Cobham. Will any one ſay that theſe things would have happened, were there one Iriſh Legiſlator to ſtand up at Weſtminſter, and tell theſe things to the people of England. It has been ſaid, and idly ſaid, that the people of England are indifferent about the Proteſtant intereſt; it is not ſo; the terrible convulſions of 1780, prove that their apprehenſions

henſions on that ground are even too acute; and ſurely the Imperial Parliament would not tamely ſuffer the diſcouragement of that intereſt in Ireland, it would not leave thoſe who had ſhed their blood, and loſt their deareſt friends, their properties and their homes, in defence of the connection with Great Britain, to ſit down in comfortleſs poverty, to compare their lot with that of rebels, and to be forced to acknowledge that treaſon had the advantage.

It will be ſaid that our own Legiſlature will be equally alive to the misfortunes of the Loyaliſts. Alas, I fear not; in the very ſame Houſe of Commons, which, with certainly no great degree of enthuſiaſm, granted a ſcanty pittance to ſave the Loyaliſts from famine, we have heard a propoſal gravely made and ſeriouſly attended to, even during the rage and fury of rebellion, for rebuilding the houſes of Rebels, which had been

deſtroyed

deſtroyed in the conteſt excited by their own reſtleſs malignity.

It is indecent as well as unkind, to ſpeak harſhly of any number of men; but Legiſlators are but men, and their conduct is to be accounted for by the hiſtory of the laſt ten years. Who can be ſure that Lord Fitzwilliam may not ſoon return, with full powers for his friends; the Proteſtants are already faithful, no diſcouragement can pervert them, they cannot, if they would, be traitors; kindneſs may attach the rebel, he may be won from his treaſons, and if a little indulgence in his preſent irregularities, may ſecure the friendſhip of one who may hereafter be your maſter, every wiſe man will wink at his follies. Such may be the reaſoning of an Iriſh Senator, in Dublin, ſuch could not be his motive at Weſtminſter.

I find

I find I have got deeper into this diſcuſſion than I intended; but if, from what I have ſaid, that which I firmly believe is proved, that it is the intereſt of the Proteſtants to have an Union, in preference to the preſent ſyſtem, my labour is not thrown away.

Looking on the Proteſtants as the nation, as they are the Legiſlative Body, and conſidering their advantage from an Union as certain, let us examine one or two objections.

The firſt and moſt formidable certainly is, that by an Union the number of Abſentees would be encreaſed; but this I think will not happen. We have very few abſentees at preſent, who have ſeats in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, and thoſe few repreſent boroughs; and the reaſon is obvious: to carry an election for a county or great town, a man *muſt* be a reſident, he muſt be a man well known, he muſt have property in the diſtrict,

diſtrict, and he muſt be always active to ſecure his election, or he will be turned out by ſome more active reſident:—it is underſtood that, of the hundred members who are intended to form a part of the Imperial Legiſlature, none will repreſent boroughs; ſo that none will be returned but perſons whom neceſſity will make reſidents, except during the ſeſſions of Parliament,—and during that time, they are now as much abſentees in Dublin from the places they repreſent, as they would be at Weſtminſter. Almoſt the ſame might be ſaid of the portion of Peers returned to Parliament:—the electing Peers will, at leaſt the majority of them, reſide at home, and their Repreſentatives will probably find it their intereſt to cultivate their electors, in the ſame way as the Commoners.

It is ſaid that Dublin will be injured:—I ſhould ſuppoſe not, and I am diſintereſted in the ſuppoſition, for all the property I have

or

or hope to have, is in houſes in this city. It appears to me that Dublin will ſuffer no loſs, except that of hearing Parliamentary debates, and being agitated by perpetual factions: Edinburgh, with fewer advantages, has abſolutely doubled in extent, and in elegance encreaſed thirty fold from the Union;—and though it is argued, in oppoſition to this, that other cities of Europe have encreaſed in the ſame proportion in that time, yet the fact is, that not even London has, in the ſame time, made proportionate advances to improvement: Dublin, as a ſea-port, nearly in the centre of Ireland, with all the advantages of inland navigation and maritime intercourſe, muſt ever enjoy a great portion of the commerce of Ireland; as the point moſt convenient to Great Britain, Dublin muſt be always a port of conſiderable paſſage between the countries; and as the Seat of internal Government, the Courts of Juſtice,

Juſtice, &c. &c. muſt always have a beneficial intercourſe with the reſt of Ireland.

Nothing could be more obvious than that the Bar would oppoſe the meaſure; like the ſilver-ſmiths of Epheſus, they would naturally cry out—"for by this craft they live,"—but in the ſame proportion that they declare againſt the meaſure, infomuch muſt it be of advantage, for excluding from the Legiſlature, men who are accuſtomed to ſpeak and argue, without feeling any conviction upon the ſubject, and acting only from the ſordid conſideration of their hire, is ſurely one ſtep towards the purity of Parliament.

For inſtance,—the Evening Poſt reports, that one Counſellor Plunket ſpoke violently at the Bar Meeting againſt an Union.—I am not acquainted with the young man, but as it ſeems to me to be a caſe in point, I will

will make free with his name: he is, I hear, a promiſing young Barriſter, who had made ſome progreſs in his profeſſion, until he was recommended to the electors of the borough Charlemont, by the Earl of C———, and by them choſen to ſit in Parliament; now, in *downright* gratitude, he will do exactly as the Earl of C——— directs him, and being a Lawyer, he will readily bring his mind to think as his patron does, ſo that in fact, he is but the noble Earl's proxy in the Houſe of Commons;—would it not be better for this country, to have an unlearned country gentleman in his place, who would have an opinion of his own.

It is alſo ſaid, that the thirty-two Barriſters who ſupported the Union, were the aſſiſtant Barriſters of the thirty-two counties; now this ſeems to be an argument of their being the only diſintereſted parties

preſent, for by Law the Aſſiſtant Barriſters are incapable of ſitting in Parliament, while all the majority have a capacity of being elected, of which they will be deprived by an Union.

But the oppoſers of the Union will ſay, the intereſts of the two iſlands are diſtinct, and ſometimes contrary; ſhould our Parliament be merged in that of Great Britain, the Britiſh Repreſentatives will be always able to overbear by their numbers, the intereſts of Ireland."

What is this but urging the diſeaſe as a reaſon for not taking the remedy: the miſchief now exiſting is, that the intereſts of the two countries *are* diſtinct and contrary; but by an Union, it is deſigned to conſolidate and incorporate them. Suppoſe the Imperial Legiſlatures to be the ſame, the intereſts of Ireland returning one hundred

Members,

Members, would be no more unequally ſupported againſt thoſe of Great Britain, than thoſe of Middleſex returning eight Members now, are againſt the intereſts of Cornwall which returns forty-four,—and for this reaſon, that the intereſts of the two countries would, by the Union, be as much identified as thoſe of Cornwall and Middleſex.

The only diverſity of intereſts which can remain, would be one for the advantage of Ireland, and it will be found in rating the proportion of taxes: ſuch has been the advantage derived by Scotland from the Union, that while Ireland furniſhed a million yearly of taxes, Scotland has paid but £.700,000; becauſe, by the treaty of Union, Scotland never can be charged at an higher rate than (I think) one fortieth of the taxation of England. The advantage to Ireland will be, that her proportion of taxes will be rated, at a time when England is taxed

taxed perhaps at her higheſt, and Ireland is but very moderately burdened; ſo that taking it at the ſcale of the preſent day, Ireland never may be liable to pay, (however well her Repreſentatives may be diſpoſed to tax her), more than about one-twentieth of the annual taxation of the Empire.

National Pride oppoſes the Union—National Pride might be induced to ſupport it, when it is recollected that ſince the Scotch Union, many of the firſt Miniſters of the Empire have been taken from Scotland:—Stair, Argyle, Mansfield, Stormont, Dundas, have filled Seats in the Cabinet, and directed the concerns of the Empire,—and why?—becauſe their talents, diſplayed in the Imperial Parliament, on Imperial ſubjects, have advanced them to ſituations, to which even greater talents in a local Legiſlature, could not have aſpired; and is not this a theatre for national pride to emulate? is not

Iriſh

Iriſh genius equal to the taſk of Imperial Government?—the names of Burke, Sheridan, Barre, all anſwer the queſtion; where would we have heard of them had they remained at home to wrangle in the little infantine ſquabbles of a local Legiſlature?—would Grattan have been known in the hiſtory of Europe, but for his *converſations* with Nelſon and Hughes,

Of the numerous treatiſes written againſt an Union, I am pleaſed to ſee, that by far the greater proportion are avowed by Barriſters, and that if we may believe report, very few of the remainder have been written out of the pale of the Four Courts: I am glad I ſay, becauſe the public ſentiment on their obvious intereſt, had anticipated the Lawyers' attack; it was eaſy to gueſs that when ſixty-three, more than one-fifth of our Houſe of Commons, were Barriſters, that there muſt have been, (without counting *expectants*)

*expectants*) at leaſt ſo many enemies to the removal of the Legiſlature to any diſtance from the Four Courts. But the intemperance with which ſome of theſe Gentlemen have written, was not to be expected from men of their information and rank in life; it is too much in the ſtrain of that practice which has ſo much injured Ireland,—the practice of exciting popular outcry, and affixing popular odium upon thoſe who dare to oppoſe the wiſhes or the intereſts of the Demagogue.—It is of the ſame complexion with that ſyſtem which *hallooed* Caſtle-hack and Informer againſt every man who dared to oppoſe the progreſs of treaſon by argument, or to reveal its practices by evidence: yet in what ſtate would this country have been, but for the vigorous ſagacity of Duigenan, or the conſcientious repentance of Reynolds.

I have

I have ſaid, and I believe ſincerely, that it is the wiſh of the enemies of the Orangemen, to urge them forward to an oppoſition of this meaſure of an Union; and I renew my entreaties, that my Brethren will balance the queſtion fairly, and examine well their own motives, before they plunge into ſuch conduct; for my part it would be ſufficient for me to ſee the part taken by a Democrat to decide me to act in direct oppoſition; the chances that I would be right, would almoſt outweigh my own conviction to the contrary.

Obſerve what their conduct has been: Three ſeveral meetings have been held by the Roman Catholics, and not a ſingle deciſion yet made, until they ſhall ſee the part we may take, and by throwing themſelves into the oppoſite ſcale, overbear us by their numbers,—let us diſappoint them.

One

One of their body affecting to ſupport an Union, has publiſhed a work filled with the groſſeſt and moſt unqualified calumnies againſt the Orange inſtitution :—Let us not be urged by this attack, to oppoſe even the Government which ſuſtains and patroniſes the Author of that book. It took a lapſe of one hundred and thirty years, before an Author could be found (the Roman Catholic Dr. Currie) to deny the Popiſh rebellion and maſſacres of 1641,—thoſe of 1798 have been denied within four months after their exiſtence by Dr. Mc Kenna. Five and twenty Popiſh Prieſts (by his own admiſſion*) marching at the head of a Popiſh army, form no proof that that the Papiſts were concerned in the rebellion; we might admit what he has aſſerted, had a ſingle Proteſtant Clergyman been found in the ſlighteſt degree connected with the horrors of laſt Summer.

Perhaps

Perhaps this is not the plan or the time to diſcuſs this queſtion; I only ſpeak of it, in order to give due eſtimation to Mr. Mc Kenna's aſſertions with reſpect to Orangemen; it would require more time, more patience, perhaps more temper than the preſent times allow; it would require the agonizing recollection of the laſt ſix months to be recalled to view, it would require the volumes of evidence on the ſubject ſuppreſſed by Authority, and it would require a leiſure and ability which are equally out of my reach and expectation.

On the ſubject of an Union, I have given my opinion. Obſcure as I am, it is of little concern to me, what motives may be attributed, or what credit given to my arguments; they are a weight taken off my own mind, in being thus laid before the Public: if they are juſt as they are candid, I hope they may have

weight; If they are inconclusive and dangerous, I truft they will meet with the neglect they deferve.

AN ORANGEMAN.

FINIS.

# OBSERVATIONS

ON

THAT PART

OF

# THE SPEAKER'S SPEECH,

WHICH RELATES TO TRADE.

DUBLIN:

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1799.

# *OBSERVATIONS, &c.*

THE SPEAKER begins the ſubject of trade in the ſixty-eighth page of his printed ſpeech, and ſtates that he will minutely examine the ſubject, that he will go through the particulars of the trade and manufactures of each kingdom, and ſhew the abſurdity and futility of Mr. Pitt's aſſertion, that "a legiſlative Union will give to Ireland the common uſe of the Britiſh capital; will identify Ireland with England."

He proceeds firſt upon Manufactures, and ſtates that thoſe which employ the capital of Britain, and are of courſe the moſt profitable, are the Woollen, Cotton, Iron, and Pottery; and he then endeavours to ſhew, that owing to our want of collieries, none of theſe manufactures can be carried on in Ireland to advantage, and therefore that no part of the Britiſh capital will be brought into Ireland by means of a Legiſlative Union.

Whether theſe four profitable branches of manufacture can or cannot be carried on to advantage in this country, may be a matter worth a minute enquiry into, but ſurely be that as it may, no man can argue that becauſe they cannot, therefore no part of the Britiſh capital can be brought into Ireland for any other purpoſe whatſoever.

Mr. Pitt's expreſſion was, that a Legiſlative Union would, by identifying Ireland with England, give the former the common uſe of the Britiſh capital: the plain meaning of which is, that a Union, by making the intereſts, the rights, and privileges of the two countries in every reſpect the ſame, would induce the people of England to employ their capital equally in either country, in ſuch branches of trade or manufacture as they could carry on to greater advantage in the one than in the other; and by giving the ſame ſecurity for

money in each country, would induce the holders of money in England to lend it to manufacturers in Ireland, to extend their manufactures; or to merchants to extend their trade. It is a well known fact, that upon the alteration of the Irish constitution in 1782, immense sums of British capital, which had been lent on Irish security, were called in, and that the late Lord Mansfield alone, drew out of this kingdom at that period, above £40,000. A Union would, by putting Irish security upon a footing with English, induce the holders of money to lay it out in Ireland.

See what is the case in other parts of the British empire, is not the trade of the West Indies carried on totally by British capital? And yet, they have neither a woollen or a cotton, an iron or a pottery manufacture.

Mr. Pitt would never have intended to convey an idea, that the manufacturers of Woollens, Cottons, Iron, and Pottery, would immediately upon a Union, transfer their capitals and manufactures to Ireland, nor did he allude to any one particular branch of trade or manufacture; the assertion was general, and the inference to be drawn from it is, that the privileges and advantages of trade being the same in both kingdoms, and the security for money being equal, those who employed their money in trade themselves, and those who lent out their money at interest to others, who carried on trade, would in future employ their capital in that country where they could carry on their respective businesses to the most advantage.

In observing upon the argument of Mr. Foster, it would be waste of time to go into an investigation of the various manufactures and branches of trade in which English capital could be employed to advantage in this country; I shall only mention two or three great national objects----the Linen manufacture, the Leather manufacture, and the Cultivation of waste and unprofitable Lands.

As to the Linen manufacture, it is unnecessary to say any thing to impress the great importance it is of to this country, or the advantages which must arise from the extension of it.

As to the Cultivation of waste and unprofitable Lands, a very competent judge, Mr. Arthur Young, has asserted, that the improvement of those lands in Ireland would yield a profit of from 15 to 20 *per cent.* besides other advantages.

He states that it would require 5*l.* an English acre, to build, fence, drain, plant, and improve Ireland, as the face of England is improved; and that it would require twenty shillings

ſhillings an acre more, to ſtock the farms of Ireland like thoſe of England. See here what an object for the employment of Britiſh capital, and what an inducement ſuch a profit muſt afford.

As to Leather, we export no leſs than 22,822 raw hides yearly, and we import leather, and articles manufactured of leather, to an immenſe amount; all which raw hides would be tanned at home, and manufactured into the various articles now imported, had we a ſufficient capital in Ireland for the purpoſe.

But the moſt ſtriking circumſtance of all is, that notwithſtanding we obtained a free trade to the Britiſh ſettlements and colonies in 1779, yet it appears by the account No. 6, annexed to this pamphlet, that we import at this day to the value of more than a million of colonial produce through Great-Britain. What can it be but want of capital that could induce us to do this? And is not the bringing this produce directly to Ireland an object proper to engage Britiſh capital in.

The bare mention of theſe objects, is ſufficient to ſhew the fallacy of that argument, which chuſing out of a great catalogue of manufactures, four, which the arguer thought would beſt anſwer his purpoſe, aſſerts, that theſe manufactures could not be carried on with advantage in Ireland, for want of proper fuel; and therefore that no other manufactures could: and that therefore, no Britiſh capital would be brought into Ireland.

If this argument was well founded, I would aſk, upon what foundation could Mr. Foſter ſupport the Bill upon the Iriſh Propoſitions, 1785, if there were but four manufactures worth having, and that none of theſe could be carried on to advantage in Ireland; and that there were no other method of employing capital here. What was it that we were to have obtained by the Commercial Treaty Bill? His argument upon that ſubject held a very different language indeed. "She (Great-Britain) offers to take us into "partnerſhip in her trade. She, an old eſtabliſhed country, "raiſed by commerce alone to an height above any other "European power, invites us to partake of the means that "raiſed her to wealth and greatneſs, to a full and equal "ſhare in that trade which coſt her millions to obtain, and "will coſt her millions to preſerve."

Again, "were a man to look for the country moſt "advantageous to ſettle manufacture in, what would be his

" choice ? One, where labour and provifions are cheap, " that is Ireland ; and which would he next look for ? " Why to have a rich, extended and ſteady market near " him, which England ſtretched alongſide, affords, and " to eſtabliſh that market for this country, is one great " object of this ſyſtem. Gentlemen undervalue the re- " duction of Britiſh duties, on our manufactures ; I agree " with them, that it may not operate ſoon, but we are to " look forward in a final ſettlement, and it is impoſſible " but that in time, with as good climate, equal natural " powers, cheaper food, and fewer taxes, we muſt be able " to ſell to them. When commercial jealouſy ſhall be " baniſhed by final ſettlements, and trade take its natural " and ſteady courſe, the kingdoms will ceaſe to look to " rivalſhip, each will make that fabric which it can do " cheapeſt, and buy from the other what it cannot make " ſo advantageouſly ; labour will be then truly employed " to profit, not diverted by duties, bounties, jealouſies, or " legiſlative interference from its natural and beneficial " courſe, this ſyſtem will obtain its real object, conſolidat- " ing the ſtrength of the remaining parts of the empire, by " encouraging the communications of their market among " themſelves, with preference to every part againſt all " ſtrangers.

" Let us alſo obſerve, that now, for the firſt time, Great " Britain offers us a right for ever, in all preſent and future " colonies, without any reſervation of power, to call on us, " either to procure, ſupport or preſerve them ; ſhe main- " tains them, we ſhare all the profits ; and not only their " goods, but all goods of Iriſh produce, are to paſs thro' " Britain, duty free ; can foreign nations after this is ſet- " tled make diſtinction between Britiſh and Iriſh goods ? " our manufactures will be united as our intereſts, and we " ſhall laugh at Portugal folly.

" I could run out for hours into the many benefits of " this ſyſtem ; but I have tired the Houſe too long ; let " me only implore you not to reject this meaſure, for ill- " founded viſionary objections, or to ſacrifice realities to " ſhadows.

" If this infatuated country gives up the preſent offer, " ſhe may look for it again in vain ; things cannot remain " as they are, commercial jealouſy is roufed, it will increaſe " with two independent legiſlatures, if they do not mutually " declare the principles whereby their powers ſhall be ſe-

" parately

" parately employed, in directing the common concerns of " trade; and without an united intereſt of commerce, in " a commercial empire, a political union will receive many " ſhocks, and ſeparation of intereſts muſt threaten a ſepara- " tion of connection, which every honeſt Iriſhman muſt " ſhudder ever to look at as a poſſible event.

" I will only add, that if this meaſure be refuſed, Ireland " will receive more ſolid injury, than from any other evil " that ever befel her; it is, in vain for Gentlemen to " think we can go on as we have done for ſome years—or " to expect to cope with England in a deſtructive war of " bounties—our ſituation muſt become every day more " difficult, and it is impoſſible to foreſee all the ruinous " conſequences that may enſue.

In this genuine ſtatement of the ſentiments of Mr. Foſter, is truly pictured, the value of a partnerſhip in trade with Great Britain; here alſo we ſee Ireland deſcribed as the very country, where after ſuch partnerſhip was eſtabliſhed, any wiſe man would wiſh to ſettle, in order carry on manufactures, where labour and proviſions were cheap, and ſituated in the neighbourhood of the rich, extended, and ſteady market of Great Britain—here alſo, we have his opinion, that Ireland, with a climate as good as Britain, with equal natural powers, and with cheaper food and fewer taxes, muſt be able to manufacture cheaper than Britain—that each country will manufacture thoſe ſpecies of goods moſt adapted to their circumſtances, and that ſuch a ſyſtem will conſolidate the ſtrength of the remaining parts of the empire.

We alſo find here that he was of opinion, that ſuch a connection would not only give us manufactures, but trade, not only with the Britiſh colonies, but with all foreign nations, where no difference could thereafter be made, between Engliſh and Iriſh commodities.

At this day it ſeems he is of a different opinion, he thinks that there are but four manufactures in Britain worth following; that none of theſe can be carried on to advantage in Ireland, and therefore, that no part of the Britiſh Capital will come to Ireland, and that it is abſurd and futile to aſſert, that a Legiſlative Union can bring capital hither.

Having ſhewn what Mr. Foſter's opinion is at this day, and what it was in 1785, upon the advantages that would ariſe to Ireland, from a partnerſhip in trade with Great Britain; I ſhall take the liberty of making a few obſervations upon

upon his aſſertion, that not one of theſe great ſources of wealth, the woollen, the cotton, the iron, or the pottery manufactures, can be carried on in Ireland, as they depend totally on the plenty and cheapneſs of fuel; ſo that even in England they can exiſt only in the coal countries.

That the plenty and cheapneſs of fuel muſt be a very great advantage in theſe, and indeed in moſt other manufactures, is moſt certainly true; but they do not depend ſolely upon the cheapneſs of this one article, but of the aggregate articles neceſſary for carrying them on; ſuch as raw materials, labour, the price of proviſions, the weight of taxes, the command of water, and the quality of it, &c. &c. &c. and the difference in the price of fuel may be more than counterbalanced by the cheapneſs of theſe ſeveral articles.

To begin with the Woollen manufacture.---No man is ignorant that in the reign of king William we had an extenſive woollen manufacture in Ireland, ſo much ſo, as to excite the jealouſy of England; and Mr. Foſter tells us, page 72, that in the year 1698, our woollen trade was in ſo flouriſhing a condition, that after ſupplying ourſelves we exported to the amount in value of 110,000 *l.* which was at that time one-fifth of our whole export; had we any collieries at that time that do not exiſt at this day? Or on the contrary, have not the collieries near Feathard in Tipperary, thoſe in the Queen's county; in Leitrim, near Lough-Allen; at Drumglas, and Coal-Iſland, in Tyrone; at Ballycaſtle and Fairhead, in Antrim, been ſince diſcovered? How then was the woollen manufacture carried on at that day? The collieries of Kilkenny, and in the Queen's County, have been known for many years, and if we are to believe the evidence of Mr. Evans, an engineer of great character, who conducts the Grand Canal works, given before the Houſe of Commons, in the year 1783, theſe collieries alone, if properly worked, would produce yearly 300,000 ton of coal; which might be carried by the canal, and ſold at the diſtance of 40 miles for 1 *s.* 6 *d.* a barrel, weighing four hundred; which is but 4dh. a hundred weight: a price I believe as low, if not lower, than coal can be purchaſed at either in Leeds, Mancheſter, Sheffield, Staffordſhire, or Birmingham.

He ſtated alſo, that at Lough-Allen there are collieries equal to the ſupply of the whole kingdom, if properly worked,

worked, and in quality equal if not ſuperior to the beſt Whitehaven coal.

And what does Mr. Foſter himſelf ſay, in 1799, page 88 of his printed ſpeech? "Should raſh councils, forgetting the advantages of friendly intercourſe, attempt to prohibit or clog our import of raw materials, viz. coals, hops, bark, rock-ſalt, &c. with duties, which no man in either country deprecates more ſincerely than I do, neceſſity may compel us to ſearch for coal, *which exiſts in Ireland*, but which we have never looked for effectually.

Have we not a woollen manufacture? Is not all the wool we grow now worked up into the ultimate manufacture? In the three years immediately ſubſequent to the paſſing the act of the 10 *Will.* 3. *c.* 10, to reſtrain our woollen trade, which is the period alluded to by Mr. Foſter, the average export of wool and woollen yarn to England from this country, was 349,410 ſtone; in the laſt three years to 1798, the average export was 18,941 ſtone; ſo that it appears that we now work up all our wool to the ultimate ſtage of manufacture. And how is this done at this day, if the poſition be true, that the woollen manufacture can exiſt only in the coal countries.

I think I may be allowed to aſſert, that we work up all our wool; for the ſmall quantity of 18,941 ſtone cannot be reckoned as any thing; and it is curious to ſee how even this ſmall average is yearly decreaſing.

The quantity of wool, and woollen and worſted yarn, exported in the laſt three years, was as follows:

| | Wool. | Woollen and Worſted Yarn. |
|---|---|---|
| 1796, - | 171 ſtone. | — 29,220 ſtone. |
| 1797, - | 88 — | — 15,063 |
| 1798, - | 89 — | — 12,192 |

So that it appears that the ſmall export of theſe articles is decreaſing every day: and Mr. Foſter himſelf ſtates, in ſame page 72, that Ireland exports no unmanufactured wool; that it works up all it has.

Again, where is it in Ireland that the woollen manufacture is carried on? In Dublin, in Cork, in Bandon, in Waterford, in Tallow, in Liſmore, in Carrick-on-ſuir, and in the Queen's County. Is there any colliery near any of theſe places except in the Queen's County?

If theſe facts be ſo, does it not appear that a woollen manufacture not only exiſts at this day in Ireland, but that

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it is carried on in thoſe parts of the country where the collieries do not lie.

In England there are great manufactures of New Drapery in Devonſhire and Norwich, and of Old Drapery, in Wiltſhire, Somerſetſhire, and Glouceſterſhire, where coal is not remarkably cheap.

The two articles of woollen and worſted yarn, afford a ſtrong example of the neceſſity of taking the aggregate prices of all the articles neceſſary for carrying on a manufacture, together with the price of labour in its various branches, into conſideration, in any computation which may be made of the relative advantages with which a manufacture may be carried on in two diſtinct ſituations; and not conclude upon any one article, ſuch as fuel; for it is a well known fact, that wool is dearer in Ireland than in England, and yet we can very much underſell the Engliſh in the articles of woollen and worſted yarn; and the reaſon is, that the price of labour and of wool in each country being added together, are leſs in Ireland than in England: and therefore, although the raw material is dearer, yet the manufacture as far as yarn, which may amount to one-third of the value of the ultimate manufacture, is actually cheaper in Ireland than in England.

As to the manufacture of Cotton, I do not know that fire is an eſſential article in the carrying it on; all the machinery of Arkwright can be worked by water, as well as by ſteam-engines, and certainly cheaper: and ſurely we have an evident advantage over England in the command of water.

With the diſadvantages which may be againſt us, either in the article of firing or other articles, we certainly do carry on at preſent a conſiderable Cotton manufacture; which is increaſing every day, and in every part of the kingdom. We have cotton manufactures at Celbridge, at Proſperous, at Malahide, at Balbriggan, at Drogheda, at Belfaſt, at Clonmell, at Cork, at Kilmacthomas, and at Mountrath, and various other places; and ſome of theſe manufactories carry on the buſineſs to a very great extent: which confirms in a very great degree the aſſertions of the cotton manufacturers of England, who were examined upon this ſubject in the year 1785. They, in that early ſtate of our cotton manufacture, gave it as their opinion, that from the cheapneſs of labour and proviſions, exemption from taxes, and having it in our power to obtain the raw material as cheap as they can in England, together with the great advantage

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which we certainly have in all thoſe branches which were compoſed of cotton and linen, or bay yarn, we muſt be able to beat them in our own market, and meet them to a great advantage in every other market.

Upon this occaſion, ſome of the moſt extenſive and principal cotton manufacturers of the kingdom were examined; men of the firſt character, for principles, integrity and ſkill, and the moſt extenſive in their dealings; men who employed great capitals, and had made immenſe fortunes in the buſineſs, ſuch men as Mr. Robert Peele, who now has ſubſcribed £10,000 a year, to the expence of carrying on the war, Mr. Joſeph Smith, Mr. Thomas Walker, Mr. Thomas Richardſon, Mr. Thomas Phillips, and Mr. Thomas Kerſhaw, theſe Gentlemen ſtated, ſo early as the year 1785, that Manoheſter had loſt a great part of the Iriſh trade.

That Ireland, who had engaged in the ſame trade, had greatly extended their trade.

It appeared that there were 50,000 people employed in the cotton manufacture, in Lancaſhire. Mr. Peele and Mr. Smith each employed 6000 in the manufacture; and from 800 to 1000 in printing—They each of them paid in the year 1784, £.20,000 in exciſe, and on the ſame quantity of goods, the exciſe would be in the year they were examined in £ 27,000.

They ſtated that the increaſe of capital, on account of the advance of duty and price of labour between England and Ireland, was on goods manufactured, £.20 per cent, that the price of labour in common articles, would make a difference of £20 per cent. and in finer articles more.

That the Iriſh, after paying 10½ per cent duty, could ſend their goods to the Engliſh market, from 12 to 13 per per cent cheaper than the Engliſh could.

That by theſe means, the Iriſh would in time, get the manufacture, but that the Engliſh, from their ſuperior ſkill and ingenuity, would retain the printing branch, that the former employs in the proportion of $\frac{19}{20}$ of the hands, the latter $\frac{1}{20}$.

Mr. Peele declared, he was ſo convinced of the trade's being transferred to Ireland, that he had written there to become a partner, and he, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Walker declared, that ſhould the reſolutions of the Iriſh Parliament paſs into a law, they would carry on their trade in Ireland, and that they were confident many others would do the

 ſame,

ſame, and that many people of great property and capital, would either ſettle or form connections there, which would give the advantages ariſing from cheapneſs of labour and proviſions, their full effect.

They ſtated that they had no doubt but that ſkilful workmen would go over with the great capitals to Ireland, and that the Iriſh want nothing elſe to aid them, or to eſtabliſh manufacture.

That formerly, Holland had the whole of what is called the ſmall-ware trade, conſiſting of tape, garters, binding, &c. but that this was transferred to England, by the migration of a ſingle manufacturer, a Mr. Vanſandford.

Such is the opinion of men bred up in the cotton manufacture, and who have made immenſe fortunes in that trade, I have ſtated their evidence fairly and exactly, and I ſet it againſt the opinion of Mr. Foſter—let the public decide which has moſt weight.

As to the iron trade and the advantages and diſadvantages under which it can be carried on in Great Britain and Ireland reſpectively, it is a ſubject of great magnitude, and has been, ſince the compact made 1778, to this day, a matter of diſpute and controverſy, between the two countries, Great Britain inſiſting upon it, that we had an advantage over her in the great American market, owing to the low duty of 12s. 6d. Iriſh, which we pay upon imported bar iron, while they pay 2*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* Engliſh, and Ireland, on the other hand, aſſerting, that as England makes from the one, one-half of the iron ſhe conſumes in manufacture, that ought to have been taken into the ſcale of computation, in 1778, and of courſe, the equalizing duty, impoſed on the export of our iron manufactures, ought to have been leſs than 3*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* the duty agreed by the compact.

It is not my intention to enter deeply into this ſubject, all that I mean to do is to ſtate a few obſervations on the point aſſerted by Mr. Foſter, of the utter impoſſibility of Ireland having an iron manufacture, owing to her want of coal.

The firſt obſervation I ſhall make is, that Mr. Foſter himſelf has pointed out the principal reaſon, if not the only one, why we have not colleries, and that is, that we have never looked for them, as we ought to have done, but whenever it ſhall become an object to ſearch after colleries, or to work thoſe properly, which are already diſcovered, I have little doubt but that men with capital, and ſkill in matters of this kind, will come over to this country, and that there will be no want of coal.

It is a matter of notoriety that there exiſts in the county of Leitrim, as I have already ſtated, not only great collieries, but many ſpecies of iron-ſtone, and ores, and that nothing but ſkill and capital is wanting to eſtabliſh iron works in that county, on the borders of Lough-Allen, the head of the river Shannon; to which point the two great navigations of this country direct their courſe, the Grand and the Royal Canal.

Mr. Foſter has choſen for his purpoſe, four of the great and profitable manufactures of England; and has aſſerted, that they cannot be carried on in this country for want of fuel proper for the purpoſe; and therefore that no capital can or will be brought into this country—arguing from the particular to the general. And in like manner he ſtates every thing relating to theſe trades as beſt anſwers his purpoſe, making no diſtinction in any of them. It is, however, highly neceſſary that the public ſhould be acquainted, that in this article of trade there are two branches, totally diſtinct from each other, and having total different intereſts to purſue; the one conſiſts of the makers of iron from the ore, the other of the manufacturers of iron after it is made.

It is the intereſt of the former, that there ſhould be a very high duty on imported iron, that it may not be able to contend with him in the Iriſh market; and it is the intereſt of the latter, that the duty on imported iron ſhould be as low as poſſible, that the material of his trade may come to him on as low terms as may be.

The encouraging the making of iron from the ore, in a country which not only ſupplies itſelf with every article made of iron, but alſo exports immenſe quantities of every manufacture of iron, from an anchor to a needle, is an object of very great magnitude; the importation of iron being from 40,000 to 50,000 tons yearly into England, which at 14*l.* a ton, amounts to from 560,000*l.* to 700,000*l.* It is worth their while to encourage the making of iron, to ſave ſuch great ſums from going out of the kingdom; and therefore, it may be politic to impoſe ſo high a duty as 2*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* on imported iron, which not only protects their own manufacture, but brings in a revenue of 126,000*l.* a year: but in Ireland, where we are not in the ſame ſituation, and where the woods which formerly abounded, and with which iron was made, are now exhauſted; and where we have not at preſent collieries open ſufficient to ſupply our common conſumption of coal, it would be madneſs to entertain the

idea of contending with any country in the making of iron, and we muſt content ourſelf with bringing in iron for our own uſe, at the loweſt price we can, and therefore it is our intereſt to have the duty on imported iron as low as poſſible.

The queſtion then is, whether we can have a manufacture of iron in Ireland, under the protecting duty of 2*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* Engliſh, or 3*l.* 1*s.* 2*db.* Iriſh, oppoſed to 12*s.* 6*d.* our preſent duty.

It appears from the evidence given before the Engliſh parliament, that the Iriſh have a conſiderable manufacture of iron in rods, hoops, and nails; and the truth of this muſt be obvious to every man's obſervation.

That the trade of England with Ireland, in the ſeveral articles of iron, was daily decreaſing, except in the article of bar iron, which may in reſpect to the manufactured iron, be eſteemed a raw material.

That the import of bar iron, as well from Ruſſia, as from England, into Ireland, is increaſing, and that if the duties on iron imported and exported, remain as at preſent, that they apprehended there would be a ſtrong competition with England in the iron trade—and that with reſpect to the American market, the great conſumer of the Engliſh manufacture, Ireland would have ſuch an advantage as would beat them out of it, as they would not be bound by the compact duty of 3*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* agreed by the compact of 1778, to be paid on the export of manufactured iron to the Colonies, America being no longer a colony.

Ireland, at this day, imports the greateſt part of her bar iron from Great-Britain, although ſhe could bring it cheaper from Ruſſia, Sweden, &c. becauſe ſhe gets credit in England, and can purchaſe in ſmall quantities, and carry on her trade with *leſs capital*. This ſhews clearly, that if ſhe can now ſupply a great part of her own conſumption of iron manufactures, and alſo meet England in the American market, that ſhe wants only capital to enable her to extend this trade to any amount; and that if it ſhall appear advantageous, both Engliſh capital and Engliſh workmen will come over, and eſtabliſh themſelves in Ireland.

Every man who has obſerved the progreſs of manufactures in Ireland, for the laſt twenty or thirty years, muſt ſee, that there is none in which we are more improved than that of iron; and that we are now arrived to that degree of ſkill, as to manufacture the fineſt articles of that branch. I cannot, therefore, ſee any reaſon to argue the improba-

bility,

bility, much less the impossibility, of our having a considerable iron trade in Ireland, even should our collieries not be worked, so as to give us a share in the making of iron from the ore; for if we can import bar iron cheaper than they can in England, and the difference in duty of 2*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* a ton, will enable us so to do, and that we have labour, provisions, and taxes, so much lower than they have in England, I cannot see the impediment to our having a considerable share of the iron manufacture.

The city of London is known to carry on a very great trade in iron manufactures, and yet no man will deny, that the article of coals is much higher in London than it is in Dublin, and that labour, provisions, and taxes, are also beyond comparison higher. Why then should not Ireland contend with London in this manufacture?

It may be argued, that although England pays on importation of iron a higher duty than Ireland does, by 2*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* yet that by making a quantity of iron equal to the quantity she imports, on which she pays no duty, she will be enabled thereby to undersell us.

This argument is best answered by stating the price of iron in the British market, which is as follows:

| | *l.* | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| British bar iron, per ton, - - | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Swedish, per do. - - - | 17 | 0 | 0 |
| Russia, assorted, per do. - - | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| Russia, Old Sable, per do. - | 15 | 5 | 0 |
| Russia, New Sable, per do. - | 14 | 5 | 0 |

From this statement it is clear, that although England pays no duty on her home-made iron, yet it is beyond comparison dearer than imported iron; and therefore, that her home-made iron cannot enable her to undersell Ireland.

The fourth and last article of manufacture, which Mr. Foster asserts that Ireland cannot carry on, is the Pottery; let us see what were the opinions of the British manufacturers in 1785, delivered through Mr. Wedgewood.

They declared, that the Irish had already many advantages over them, and that if the system then proposed took place, it would give them a certainty of supplying their own country, and a chance of sharing the English market.

The value of this particular manufacture consists almost wholly in labour; when, therefore, the cheapness of labour in Ireland, in comparison to what it is in England,

land, is considered; and when to this is added that the raw materials are also cheaper, in nearly an equal proportion, the advantage of Ireland over England in this manufacture, becomes decided and incontrovertible.

The raw materials for this manufacture, are clay and flint-stones, both of which Ireland has in abundance, and of the best quality; and if she had not, she could be supplied with these articles from the same places from which the Staffordshire manufacturers are supplied, and at half the price they cost when laid down at their potteries. They are now obliged to bring them from several distant parts of England, from near the Land's-end in Cornwall, and along different parts of the coast, Falmouth, Teignmouth, Exeter, Poole, Gravesend, and the Norfolk coast, on the one side; and from Wales, Biddeford, and the Irish coast, on the other side, to Hull and Liverpool, from whence they are again to be conveyed to the potteries, situated in one of the most inland parts of England.

Ireland has these materials within herself, and conveniently situated. It appears from the evidence of Mr. Evans, the engineer, given to our House of Commons in 1783, as before mentioned, "that on the banks of the "Grand Canal, between Lough-Allen and Dublin, and "about thirty miles from the latter, there was flint for "making flint-ware, clays for potteries, and pipe-clay for "making Staffordshire-ware."

We have besides those clays mentioned by Mr. Evans, excellent clay upon the estate of Mr. Hamerton, near Clonmell; quantities of which have been sent to England, as I am informed for the purpose of making earthen-ware and tobacco-pipes.

We have also both clay and flint of the best quality, near Belfast, where I understand a considerable manufacture of a ware, similar to that of Staffordshire, is now carrying on.

Coals are then the only article wanting. Belfast lies most convenient to Whitehaven and the Cumberland collieries, to all the Scotch collieries, and to Ballycastle, and there is water-carriage now to the place on the Grand Canal described by Mr. Evans, and the greatest abundance of turf; and whenever the navigation of the canals shall be carried to Lough-Allen, this is a situation where all the materials can be had much cheaper than in Staffordshire.

It was Mr. Brierly's opinion, upon his examination in 1785, that it was not owing to the cheapness of fuel, or

materials,

materials, that the Engliſh pottery owed its ſuperiority, but to the ingenuity of its workmen. And Mr. Wedgewood ſtated the great ſource of danger to the Engliſh pottery to be, the certainty of the emigration of their workmen and artizans to Ireland, where proviſions were ſo much cheaper, and taxes ſo much lower; and he fortified his aſſertion, by the inſtance of the emigration of the glaſs manufacturers to Ireland, by which that article has been brought to ſuch perfection, as to enable us, not only to maintain a ſucceſsful competition with England in foreign markets, but actually to ſend glaſs into England.

The Glaſs manufacture is of the nature of the Pottery, and depends equally upon the plenty and cheapneſs of firing; and therefore, if the glaſs manufacture is eſtabliſhed in Ireland, and in the city of Dublin, where coals are dearer than in any other part, what ſhould prevent our having alſo a pottery?

When all this is conſidered, and alſo that the carriage, freight, loſs by breakage, and the duties upon Staffordſhire ware imported, amount to 40 *per cent.* I can ſee no reaſon to ſubſcribe to the aſſertion, that the pottery manufacture cannot be carried on to advantage in Ireland.

Having gone through thoſe obſervations which occurred upon the queſtion, whether or no Ireland could carry on an advantageous trade in the articles of woollen, cotton, iron, and pottery; I come now to conſider the ſtatements made by Mr. Foſter, page 82, to prove "that in our commercial "intercouſe with Britain, the benefits are mutual to both "countries, more ſo to England than to Ireland perhaps, "but certainly ſo as to put an end to all the fooliſh threats "which have been made, more particularly as to our linen "trade depending wholly on Britiſh bounty and Britiſh diſ-"cretion."

He aſſerts that he will prove, "that in our commercial "intercourſe with England we are not at all dependant on "her, and that the proſperity of our linen trade does not "lie at the will of the Britiſh parliament; that it does not "reſt upon its bounty, its diſcretion, or its liberality. He "laments that the ſubject ſhould have been introduced; "that it was not wiſe in private life for two friends to enter "into a detail of their mutual powers of benefit and injury, "to taunt with obligations, and boaſt of their means to vex, "and haraſs—much leſs is it ſo between nations. But, as

"Mr.

" Mr. Pitt has begun, he, Mr. Foſter, will go through the " whole ſtate of our intercourſe.

In order to prove theſe aſſertions, Mr. Foſter makes ſeveral ſtatements, which I ſhall now beg leave to examine.

The firſt ſtatement is in page 76. He there ſays, " If " I were to take the general ſtate of the intercourſe from " the Cuſtom-Houſe books, according to their accuſtomed " valuation, it would appear

| | |
|---|---|
| That Great Britain, on an average of 3 years, to 1799, imported annually from Ireland, to the value of - - | £2,870,981 |
| and that ſhe exported to Ireland - | 2,775,330 |
| Leaving a balance againſt Britain of - | £95,651 |

Mr. Foſter draws no inference from this ſtatement, he gives it, and there he leaves it, to impreſs the public with the opinion, that in the intercourſe between the two countries, the balance in favour of Ireland, was but £95,651; but in my opinion, this is by no means a fair ſtatement, for the thing he undertook to ſhew was, which country benefits moſt, by the mutual importing and exporting of the products and manufactures of the one, into the other, and which country would be moſt injured, by the ceaſing of ſuch intercourſe; in ſuch an inveſtigation, foreign products or manufactures ought not to be introduced, as each country could obtain them, from the original place of their growth or production, but Mr. Foſter has included them in this account, in order to reduce the balance of trade in favour of Ireland; but the fair ſtatement would be to ſet the Britiſh products and manufactures againſt thoſe of Ireland, when the account would ſtand thus:

| | |
|---|---|
| Iriſh products and manufactures, exported into Britain on an average of 3 years to 1799 - - - | £2,821,910 |
| Britiſh Do. exported to Ireland - | 1,589,478 |
| Balance in favour of Ireland - | £1,232,432 |

Having ſtated this account, in the way I think moſt fair, I ſhall ſubjoin an account of the trade in foreign articles, between the two countries, and ſhall refer the reader to the articles of which it conſiſts, that he may be able to form a complete judgment, upon the whole of the ſubject.

Foreign

| | |
|---|---|
| Foreign products and merchandize exported from Britain into Ireland, on an average of 3 years, to 1799 | £1,185,861 |
| Do. imported into Britain by Ireland | 49,071 |
| Balance in favour of Britain | £1,136,799 |

By looking into the account, No. 6, annexed to this pamphlet, the reader will find, that of the articles of which this balance conſiſts, no leſs a ſum than £624,762, ariſes from articles of raw materials, for our manufactures, and on the other hand, by examining the account No. 4, he will find, that of the ſum of £49,071, the value of articles exported from Ireland to Britain, not being of the product or manufacture of Ireland, to the amount of £18,535, conſiſting of raw materials.

Mr. Foſter then ſtates, that *fortunately* an authentic paper had come to his hands, viz. "the accounts delivered by "Mr. Irving, the Inſpector-General of Britiſh trade, to "the Engliſh Parliament, in theſe papers, the values are "eſtimated by the current prices of the articles inſtead of "the Cuſtom-Houſe rates, and theſe current prices, are "aſcertained by the declarations of the merchants, on "goods exported to other countries, under the convoy "act."

Theſe accounts, which were furniſhed to the Houſe of Lords, of England, have ſtated the trade between the two countries, in every light which can give true information, and Mr. Irving who furniſhed them, an officer of the firſt character, for ability, diligence, and integrity, has, for the ſatisfaction of the public, ſtated this trade, not only as it ſtands upon the old valuations contained in the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, but alſo upon the real value of the articles imported and exported, as they ſtand in the prices current of the day.

Mr. Foſter has, I think, made a very unfair inſinuation, when he ſays, "we will not enquire why this mode was adopted *now*", intimating that the old mode of eſtimating by the Cuſtom-Houſe rates, was laid aſide, for ſome improper purpoſe; but that ſurely cannot be the caſe, becauſe Mr. Irving has not only given the prices current, but alſo the Cuſtom-Houſe rates, ſo that every man may eſtimate, either by the one or the other mode, as he chuſes, but ſurely, as Mr. Foſter himſelf ſtates, "it is better to argue "for preſent expedience, on the preſent real ſtate of trade,

"than on a fictitious one, which might deceive us;" and as to the reason why this mode was adopted now, it was because it never could have been adopted before, for the value being taken from the declaration of the merchants exporting the goods under the Convoy Act, which act only passed the ſeſſion before, ſuch declarations were never before made.

From theſe accounts Mr. Foſter makes the following ſtatements.

Imports into Britain from Ireland, on a 3 years average.

| ARTICLES. | Value. |
|---|---|
| Linen, | £2,600,101 |
| Raw Materials, proviſions, *i. e.* butter, beef, pork, bacon, corn, &c. | 2,910,724 |
| Total, | 5,510,825 |
| Foreign product, | 101,864 |
| Total import, | 5,612,689 |

Exports from Britain to Ireland, for the ſame average.

| ARTICLES. | Value. |
|---|---|
| Britiſh manufactures, | £1,640,195 |
| Colonial Do. | 970,000 |
| Britiſh raw materials, including coals, hops, ſalt, and bark, | 447,277 |
| Foreign merchandize, | 498,173 |
| Total Export, | 3,555,645 |
| Balance in favour of Ireland, | 2,056,824 |
| | 5,612,469 |

From this account it appears, that ſtating the whole of the imports and exports, to and from each country, including foreign products and manufactures, that there is a balance in favour of Ireland, amounting to £2,056,824. which muſt do away any impreſſion which could have been made by the firſt ſtatement, where the balance was ſtated at but £95,623.

Mr. Foſter was fully aware of this, and therefore he found it neceſſary for his argument, to ſtate that this was

but

but an apparent balance in favour of Ireland; and to support this assertion, he says, "that on examining the nature "and amount of the several articles, we shall find on a "comparison of mutual benefit, the balance is much in "favour of Britain;" and to shew this, he states the trade in three points of view.

1. As it regards manufactures.
2. As it regards raw materials, or articles of prime necessity and
3. As it regards foreign articles.

As to the first article, viz. Manufactures, he asserts "that "there is no kind of manufacture exported from Ireland "to Britain, except linen;" and he includes in the manufactures exported from Britain to Ireland, all East India and colonial produce, alledging that much of them would really manufactures, and therefore, he says, may be deemed so, on account of the employ of labour in the colony and in the shipping.

Upon these principles, which we shall by and by examine, he makes a statement thus:

1. MANUFACTURES.

*From Britain to Ireland.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Manufactures of Britain, | £1,640,000. |
| Colonial goods, | 974,000 |
| Total | 2,614,000 |

*From Ireland to Britain.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Manufactures, viz. linen only, | £2,600,000. |
| Balance against Ireland, | 14,000 |

2. RAW MATERIALS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Raw materials supplied by Ireland, including articles of prime necessity, as beef, butter, pork, bacon, and corn, | £2,910,724 |
| Do. supplied by Britain, including coals, hops, salt, and bark, | 447,277 |
| Excess of supply by Ireland, | 2,463,447 |

3. FOREIGN ARTICLES.

| | |
|---|---|
| Foreign articles taken by Ireland from Britain, | £1,468,173 |
| Do. taken by Britain from Ireland, - | 101,864 |
| Excefs taken by Ireland, - - - - | 1,366,309† |

Mr. Foſter then ſtates, that in the firſt article, viz. manufactures, the account is nearly equal; that in the ſecond, or articles of neceſſity, or raw materials, the balance of ſupply is very great to Britain; and in the third, or foreign articles, the gain to Britain is prodigious.

He aſſerts that he has detailed theſe ſtatements accurately, from the printed report of the accounts laid by Mr. Irving before the Lords of England, and he boaſts of the advantage of arriving at truth by ſuch detail; for if the groſs amount only of theſe imports and exports had been ſtated, without attending to the nature of the articles, it would appear that the trade was greatly againſt Britain.

I ſhall now endeavour to ſhew with what degree of accuracy and fairneſs theſe ſtatements have been detailed from the printed accounts.

Mr. Foſter has taken his ſtatements from three ſeveral accounts, laid before the Houſe of Lords of England, by Mr. Irving, and marked by him No. 4, No. 5, and No. 6; copies of which are annexed, and marked with the numbers 1, 2, and 3.

The firſt of theſe accounts is entitled, "An account of "the value, according to the prices current, of the imports "into Great-Britain from Ireland, on an average of the "laſt three years, diſtinguiſhing the principal articles; and "alſo diſtinguiſhing, as far as the ſame can be done, the "products and manufactures of Ireland, from thoſe articles "which are not the product or manufacture of that king-"dom."

This account, as will be ſeen upon inſpection, ſets forth the ſeveral articles, in two ſchedules, the one containing ſuch as are, the other ſuch as are not, the product or manufacture of Ireland:

† *Note*, I have throughout adopted the figures of Mr. Foſter, although they are inaccurate; I ſuppoſe through hurry.

The

| | |
|---|---|
| The former, amounting in value to | £5,510,825 |
| The latter, to | 101,864 |
| Total | 5,612,689 |

The ſecond is a ſimilar account of the products and manufactures of Britain exported to Ireland, and diſtinguiſhed into manufactures and raw materials:

| | |
|---|---|
| The former amounting in value to | £1,640,195 |
| The latter, to | 447,477 |
| Total | 2,087,672 |

The third is entitled, "An account of the rated value, "and of the value agreeable to the prices current, of the "foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain to "Ireland, on an average of the laſt three years, diſtin-"guiſhing the principal articles:" amounting, according to the prices current, to £1,468,173.

From theſe three accounts, the plain and natural concluſions to be drawn would be, that on a compariſon of the value of the imports from Ireland into Britain, with the exports of the manufactures and raw materials of Britain to Ireland, the account would ſtand thus:

| | |
|---|---|
| Amount of imports from Ireland into Britain | £5,612,689 |
| Amount of exports from Britain into Ireland | 2,087,672 |
| Balance in favour of Ireland | 3,527,017 |

And if it were fair that the amount of the value of foreign merchandize ſhould be added to the value of Britiſh manufactures and raw materials ſent from Britain to Ireland, then the account would ſtand thus:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Amount of imports from Ireland to Britain | | £5,612,689 |
| Amount of exports from Britain into Ireland, as above | £2,087,672 | |
| Foreign merchandize exported from Britain into Ireland | 1,468,173 | |
| | | 3,555,845 |
| Balance in favour of Ireland | | 2,056,844 |

But Mr. Irving, as if he had foreſeen that an attempt would have been made to pervert his meaning, has taken care

case to put that out of doubt; for in two subsequent accounts, marked by him No. 15 and No. 16, and in the accounts hereto annexed 8 and 9, he has again stated the matter thus:

## No. 15.

"An account of the true value of the products and manufactures of Ireland, imported annually into Great-Britain, on an average of the three years preceding the 5th of January, 1799; and also an account of the true products and manufactures of Great-Britain, exported to Ireland, for the same period; with the amount of the excess or balance in favour of each country.

| Value of the Products and Manufactures of Ireland imported into Great-Britain. | Value of the Products and Manufactures of Great-Britain exported into Ireland. | Excess, or balance, in favour of Ireland. |
|---|---|---|
| £5,510,825. | £2,087,672. | £3,425,153. |

MARCH 5, 1799. THOMAS IRVING,
*Inspector-Gen. of the Imports and Exports of Great-Britain.*

## No. 16.

"An account of the true value, taken on an average of the three years to the 5th of January, 1799, of the Irish products and manufactures, and of the foreign merchandize annually imported into Great-Britain from Ireland; likewise an account of the true value of British products and manufactures, and of foreign merchandize, exported from Great-Britain to Ireland, on an average of the same period; with the amount of the excess or balance in favour of either country.

| Total Value of Imports into Great Britain from Ireland. | Total Value of Exports from Great-Britain to Ireland. | Excess, or Balance of Trade, in Favour of Ireland. |
|---|---|---|
| £5,612,689. | £3,555,845. | £2,056,844. |

MARCH 5, 1799. THOMAS IRVING,
*Inspector-Gen. of the Imports and Exports of Great-Britain.*

From

From thefe accounts contained in Mr. Irving's returns to the Lords, had Mr. Foſter fortunately looked into them, he would have ſeen clearly, that Mr. Irving directly diſtinguiſhes between the products and manufactures of Britain, and the products of the Colonies; ſtiling the former, the products and manufactures of Britain; the latter as they are, not manufactures, but foreign merchandize.

Thus it appears, that ſtating the balance of trade between the two countries, in the moſt unfavourable manner to Ireland, there is upon the face of thoſe accounts of Mr. Irving's, from which Mr. Foſter made his details, a balance in favour of Ireland of £2,956,844.

Theſe ſtatements would by no means coincide with Mr. Foſter's aſſertions, and therefore he was under the neceſſity of making an entire new ſtatement, in order to ſupport his argument; which he calls accurately detailing from the printed report.

He begins by dividing Mr. Irving's account, No. 4. into three parts inſtead of two; he firſt ſtates linen, as the only manufacture; then he ſtates, in the ſecond inſtance, raw materials, proviſions, i. e. beef, butter, pork, bacon, and corn; and in the third inſtance he ſtates, articles not the produce or manufacture of Ireland.

This mode of dividing Mr. Irving's account is adopted, for the purpoſe of ſtating the article of proviſions as raw materials; in order in the firſt place, to make a balance againſt Ireland in the view which he afterwards takes of the trade of the two countries, as it regards manufactures, raw materials, and foreign articles; for by firſt ſtating proviſions as raw materials, and then by leaving no article of manufacture to Ireland except linen, he makes the balance under the head of manufactures, to be againſt Ireland; and then by ſubſtituting a new name for proviſions, viz. articles of prime neceſſity and ſupply, he would endeavour to perſuade us that we confer a high obligation on Britain, by ſelling her our proviſions.

But the fallacy of his ſtatement does not ſtop there, for he not only deducts the value of proviſions, amounting to £2,910,724 from the manufactures of Ireland, but he divides alſo Mr. Irving's account, No. 6, into two parts, one of which, he ſtiles colonial manufactures, to the amount of £970,000, and the other foreign merchandize, to the amount of £498,373, and having deducted from the Iriſh manufactures, £2,910,724, he adds to the Britiſh manufac-

ture,

tures, what he calls colonial do. to the amount of £970,000. —*Vide* No. 3, annexed.

Now, let the reader turn to No. 3 annexed, which is a copy of Mr. Irving's account, No. 6, and he will find, that the two ſums of colonial Do. - - - £970,000
and foreign merchandize - - - 498,173

make the total of that account - 1,468,173
and then let him point out, if he can, what are the articles of colonial manufactures, which compoſe the ſum of £970,000, and what the foreign articles compoſing £498,173. The fact is, and a bare inſpection of the account will ſhew it, that almoſt the whole of the articles comprized in it, are raw materials, uſed in our manufacture, or articles of conſumption, ſuch as pepper, rice, tea, &c.

But Mr. Foſter does not ſtop there, for having made the balance of manufacture in favour of Britain, by reducing Iriſh manufactures £2,910,724, and increaſing Britiſh by £970,000, as I have ſtated, he goes on to make what he calls a prodigious gain to Britain, on the head of foreign articles, by taking credit a ſecond time for the ſum of £970,000, as a part of the amount of £1,468,173, as is ſhewn above, ſo that according to his ſtatement, the articles compoſing this ſum of £970,000 are, when it is neceſſary to increaſe the amount of Britiſh manufactures, added to them, *under* the name of colonial do. or manufactures, and when it is neceſſary to ſwell the quantum of foreign articles, ſupplied by Britain to Ireland, in order to ſhew the prodigious gain of the former, then they are again brought back and taken credit for as foreign articles.

To ſave the reader trouble, and to make the matter more clear, I will claſs the articles of the account No. 3, under certain heads, ſhewing the nature of them, and their ſeveral uſes, with the amount in value, under each head.

ARTICLES FOR THE USE OF LINEN MANUFACTURE.

| No. 1. | £. | |
|---|---|---|
| Aſhes Pearl - - | 16.375 | |
| —— pot, - - | 22.508 | |
| Barilla, - - | 8.635 | |
| Flax rough, - - | 16.960 | |
| Hemp rough, - - | 9.205 | |
| Linſeed, - - - | 5.462 | |
| | | 79.145 |

DYING

DYING STUFFS.

No. 2.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cochineal, | 3767 | |
| Indigo, | 14,400 | |
| Logwood, | 4416 | |
| Madder, | 6202 | |
| Redwood, | 2719 | |
| | | 31585 |

RAW MATERIALS.

No. 3.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mahogany, | 2288 | |
| Oak Timber, | 676 | |
| Wood ſtaves, | 32,868 | |
| Iron in bars, | 54,700 | |
| Raw and thrown ſilk, | 66,243 | |
| Deer ſkins, in hair, | 6305 | |
| Brimſtone, | 2960 | |
| Train Oil, | 3240 | |
| Tallow, | 4267 | |
| Tar, | 1527 | |
| Turpentine, | 854 | |
| Saltpetre, | 9360 | |
| Cotton Wool, | 30,374 | |
| Spaniſh Wool, | 4959 | |
| Mohair, | 2324 | |
| | | 222,945 |

ARTICLES OF CONSUMPTION.

No. 4.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tea, | 367,887 | |
| Coffee, | 1237 | |
| Currants, | 1009 | |
| Pepper, | 5533 | |
| Rice, | 1103 | |
| Rum, | 14,893 | |
| Tobacco, | 165,717 | |
| Beef, | 982 | |
| | | 558,361 |

FOR OUR REFINERIES.

No. 5.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sugar, | 505,716 | 505,716 |

MANUFACTURES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No. 6. | | | |
| China Ware, | - - | 646 | |
| Callicoes, | - | 499 | |
| Muſlin, | - - | 1826 | |
| | | | - 2971 |

DRUGS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No. 7. | | | |
| Saccharum Saturni, | - | 1349 | |
| Succus Liquoritiæ, | - | 2736 | - 4085 |

MISCELLANEOUS.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| No. 8. | 63,366 | - 63,366 |
| | £1,468,173 | £1,468,173 |

Having ſtated the articles of which the account No. 3 is made up, I again ſay, that it is impoſſible for any man to point out the articles of manufacture, for which Mr. Foſter has taken credit to the amount of £970,000, under the head of colonial manufactures, I therefore beg leave to ſay that this ſum ought not to have been credited to Britain under this head.

But Mr. Foſter ſtates, that he includes in this ſum, all East India and colonial produce, now I aſk how is it that he can take upon him, to give credit to Britain, for the produce of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, including the article of tea, to the amount of £367,887, which is the growth and produce of China, and not of any Britiſh colony, and at the ſame time, deny to Ireland credit for her proviſions, how does he diſtinguiſh between their articles of conſumption, ſuch as tea, coffee, currants, pepper, rum, tobacco, and our articles of beef, pork, bacon and butter; between their rice and our corn; can he argue that tea, an article of conſumption, the produce of China, is a manufacture of Britain, and that beef, pork, butter, &c. are not manufactures of Ireland; but he ſays, that if the articles in the account No. 3, are not manufactures actually, they may be deemed ſo, on account of the employ of labour in the colony, and in the ſhipping: Is there no labour in the various proceſſes of curing proviſions? Is there no labour in agriculture, in the raiſing of corn, or in converting it into flour, oatmeal, malt, &c. Or is there no uſe of ſhipping in ſending corn or proviſions to Britain?

Mr. Foſter inſiſts peremptorily, that the only article of manufacture exported from Ireland, is linen, and he ſtates proviſions

proviſions, as a raw material, and this is done for the purpoſe of making a balance upon the article of manufacture exported in favour of Britain, which he could not do, even by the addition of the £970,000 of colonial produce, which he had no right to introduce; if any man can doubt for a moment, whether beef, butter, pork, bacon, and corn, are manufactures, let him firſt advert to Mr. Foſter in page 106, where he is ſtating Mr. Adam Smith's opinion that the union of Scotland did not promote the trade or manufacture of that country, he there quotes Mr. Smith's words in 1775, viz. "of all commercial advantages which Scotland has derived from the union, the riſe in the price of cattle, is perhaps the greateſt," on which Mr. Foſter makes this remark—"The live cattle, on which we have laid duties, to check their export." Now, for which reaſon, ſhould we check their export? Why becauſe we looked upon live cattle as a raw material, the exporting of which deprived Ireland of the numerous advantages ariſing from the ſlaughtering and manufacturing of them; and then let him take into his conſideration, the proceſſes neceſſary to be gone through, and the number of perſons and trades employed in conſequence of the making and exporting of butter, the ſlaughtering and making up, and exporting of beef, pork, and bacon; I ſhall enumerate a few of them; the importing of ſalt, ſtaves, and iron, the manufacturing of hoops and caſks; the perſons employed in ſalting and curing the beef, pork, and bacon; and in making and ſalting the butter; the making them up in caſks, the coopering of the caſks; the tanning and dreſſing the hides; the working up the leather in all the branches of trade, in which it is employed; the making of ſoap and candles of the tallow; the working of the horns and hoops to their proper uſes, &c. the raiſing of corn, ploughing, ſowing, reaping, ſtacking, threſhing, grinding, making into flour, meal or malt, into bread, biſcuit, &c. or the exporting of it; all which, and many other circumſtances not ſtated, are fully ſufficient to convince any man, not only that proviſions are manufactures in themſelves, but that many other manufactures depend upon them.

Thus we ſee what Mr. Foſter calls accurately detailing his ſtatements, from the printed accounts of Mr. Irving, which fortunately fell into his hands; Mr. Irving ſtates the amount of the value of Engliſh and Iriſh products and manufactures, imported into and exported from each coun-

try, and makes a great balance in favour of Ireland; Mr. Foſter, by cutting off at once above one half of the account, makes a ſmall balance in favour of Britain.

Mr. Irving ſtates our proviſions as manufactures, and makes them a part of that balance; Mr. Foſter makes our proviſions raw materials. Mr. Irving, ſtates the produce of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies as foreign merchandize; Mr. Foſter ſtiles them by the name of colonial manufactures: and having cut off above one half of our own manufactures, he adds theſe to the amount of Britiſh, in order to give a balance in favour of Britain in the article of manufactures.

Mr. Irving ſuppoſes that Ireland has ſome advantage, by drawing from England annually no leſs a ſum than 2.910.724*l.* by the ſale of its proviſions; Mr. Foſter, by ingeniouſly changing the names of things, and converting our proviſions into raw materials, and new chriſtening them, by the name of articles of prime neceſſity, would perſuade us that we were not reaping an advantage by the bringing into this country annually 2.910.724*l.* but on the contrary, conferring an high obligation on Britain, by permitting her to purchaſe our proviſions to ſuch an amount. A man would really be led to imagine, from Mr. Foſter's mode of ſtating this argument, that Ireland made a preſent of theſe articles of prime neceſſity to England, and that ſhe never could do without them.† Mr. Foſter may have forgotten, but I believe the landed gentlemen and the graziers of Ireland do not forget, that it is but a very few years ſince this country was allowed the liberty of conferring this obligation on England, the ſending our proviſions there; and yet that country exiſted without them: and the conſequence of that liberty has been, the raiſing the prices of the produce of our lands, to treble of what they were before; bringing into Ireland in ready money annually, the immenſe ſum of 2.910.224*l.* enriching the merchant, highly increaſing the profits of the tenant, and exceedingly adding to the income of the landed gentlemen, and the general wealth of the kingdom.

Mr. Irving ſtates every branch of trade by its proper name, and takes credit for it, under its own proper head; Mr. Foſter gives new names to things, and takes credit for them, juſt as it ſuits the convenience of his arguments.

† *Note*, It appears from Lord Auckland's ſpeech, page 53, that the ſupply of beef which we ſend to England, including that for the navy, is leſs than one third of what is annually ſold in Smithfield, London.

Upon

Upon the whole, I think I have ſhewn, that Mr. Foſter's ſtatements of the trade and intercourſe between Great-Britain and Ireland, are neither fair in themſelves, nor truly detailed from Mr. Irving's printed accounts.

And now as I think it highly neceſſary that the people of this country ſhould be made acquainted with the real ſtate of their trade with all nations, I ſhall give a ſtatement of the import and export trade of Ireland with all the world; her trade with Great-Britain ſingly, and with Great-Britain and her colonies: ſhewing what proportion of her commerce ſhe carries on with Great-Britain, what with the colonies, and what with Great-Britain and the colonies, and what with the reſt of the world, on a ſeven year's average; taken from the cuſtom-houſe books of Ireland, and valued according to the old cuſtom-houſe rates.

| | |
|---|---|
| The exports from Ireland to all the world, for ſeven years, to Lady-day 1797, is valued at | £34.394.899 |
| The average of each year amounts to | 4.913.557 |
| Seven years average export to Great-Britain alone | 3.909.946 |
| Seven years average export to all the reſt of the world | 1.003.611 |

From this account it appears, that the exports from Ireland to Great-Britain alone, amounts to $\frac{4}{5}$ of her whole exports.

| | |
|---|---|
| The imports into Ireland from all the world, for ſeven years, to Lady-day 1797, are valued at | £29.075.176 |
| The average of each year amounts to | 4.153.596 |
| Seven years average import from Great-Britain alone | 2.901.850 |
| Seven years average import from the reſt of the world | 1.251.746 |

This account ſhews that Ireland imports from Great-Britain $\frac{3}{4}$ of her whole imports.

| | |
|---|---|
| Seven years exports from Ireland to Britain | £27.369.627 |
| Seven years imports from Britain into Ireland | 20.312.956 |
| Balance | 7.056.671 |

Seven

| | |
|---|---|
| Seven years average exports from Ireland to Britain - - - | £3.909.946 |
| Seven years average imports from Britain into Ireland - - - | 2 901.850 |
| Yearly average balance - - | 1.008.096 |

By this account we ſee the balance in favour of Ireland.

| | |
|---|---|
| Seven years exports from Ireland to the Britiſh colonies - - - | £3.274.251 |
| Seven years imports into Ireland from Britiſh colonies - - - | 1.462.217 |
| Balance in favour of Ireland - | 812,034 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Seven years average exports from Ireland to Britiſh colonies - - - | £324.893 |
| Seven years average imports into Ireland from Britiſh colonies - - | 208.888 |
| Yearly balance in favour of Ireland | 116.005 |

Thus we ſee that there is yearly a balance againſt the colonies of 116.005 *l.* in favour of Ireland.

| | |
|---|---|
| Seven years exports from Ireland to Britain and her colonies - - - | £29.643.878 |
| Seven years imports from Britain and her colonies into Ireland - - | 21.771.271 |
| Balance in favour of Ireland - | 7.872.607 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Seven years average exports from Ireland to Britain and her colonies - | £4.234.839 |
| Seven years average imports from Britain and her colonies into Ireland - | 3.110.181 |
| Yearly balance in favour of Ireland | 1.124.658 |

From this account it appears, that upon a compariſon of the trade between Ireland and Great-Britain and her colonies, the balance is annually 1.124.658 *l.* in favour of Ireland.

Seven

| | |
|---|---|
| Seven years average export from Ireland to the whole world - - | £4.913.557 |
| Seven years average export from Ireland to Britain and her colonies - | 4.234.838 |
| Seven years average export from Ireland to the reſt of the world - - | 678.718 |
| Seven years average import into Ireland from all the world - - - | £4.153.590 |
| Seven years average import into Ireland from Britain and her colonies - | 3.110.181 |
| Seven years average import into Ireland from the reſt of the world - - | 1.043.415 |
| Seven years average export to all the world except Britain and her colonies - | 678.718 |
| Yearly balance againſt Ireland - | 364.697 |

Upon the whole of theſe accounts it appears, that of the whole export trade of Ireland, $\frac{6}{7}$ is with Great-Britain and her colonies; and that the balance of trade with each is in favour of Ireland; whereas in the other ſeventh the balance is againſt Ireland. And that in the import trade of Ireland, $\frac{3}{4}$ of it is with Great-Britain and her colonies; and with each the balance is in favour of Ireland; whereas in the other fourth the balance is againſt her.

This being the ſtate of the general trade of Ireland with all the world, it muſt ſtrike every man who reads it, that her proſperity and her wealth depend entirely upon her intercourſe and connexion with Great-Britain; and it is peculiarly neceſſary, in times like the preſent, that the people of this country ſhould know this great truth, and that they ſhould be made acquainted, and properly impreſſed, with the liberality of the Britiſh legiſlature to them, both in their commerce and manufactures, and the great and important advantages which they have derived therefrom; and I think this cannot be done in ſtronger words than thoſe uſed by Mr. Foſter, in 1785. In page 110 of Woodfall's debates, he ſays, "Britain imports annually from us, 2,500,000 of our products, all, or very nearly all, duty free, and covenants never to lay a duty on them. We import about 1,000,000 of her's, and raiſe a revenue on almoſt every article of it, and reſerve the power of continuing that revenue.

nue. She exports to us ſalt for our fiſheries, and proviſions; Hops, which we cannot grow; Coals, which we cannot raiſe; Tin, which we have not, and Bark which we cannot get elſewhere; and all theſe without reſerving any duty, or a power to impoſe any on them; though her own ſubjects pay 2*s*. 3*d*. or 4*s*. a chaldron for her own Coals ſent coaſtways, and in London 7*s*."

Again page 193, he ſtates thus; "the gentleman (viz. Mr. Grattan,) ſays England, is as dependant on Ireland, as Ireland is on England, he inſtances the cotton and other yarn of Ireland. What call cotton yarn a fabrick of Ireland, and an export to Britain. It is a miſtake of his expreſſion, he cannot be ſo ignorant of our manufactures. Let us look into the wants Britain ſupplies. I will take coals firſt."

"Do you think it an object of no conſequence to receive coals from England for ever, duty free, while the duty on coals in England, brought from one of her own Ports to another, is very high. I remember when I propoſed a ſhilling a ton on the importation of coals into Dublin only, in order to raiſe a fund for extending and beautifying the city, it met with great oppoſition, I was abuſed in all the news-papers; yet, now England may raiſe four times that ſum upon the export of her coals, which will fall upon the conſumer, and raiſe a revenue for her advantage; nay, were ſhe even to raiſe the revenue on them, to you, that ſhe does on her own coaſt carriage, what would become of you? you have not Iriſh coals, if the preſent bounty of 2*s*. a ton to Dublin, added to 1*s*. 8*d*. duty on Britiſh, which operates as 3*s*. 8*d*. in favor of Iriſh coal, will not bring them. what will you do? becauſe no carriage can be ſo cheap to you, as that acroſs the channel."

"Rock-ſalt is the next, where will you get it?"

"As to the tanner's trade, where will you get bark? from no place in the world except England, we know that it would not bear the freight from any other, and if England was to prohibit the export of it, that trade muſt be at an end; and we muſt not forget that the Britiſh manufacturers of leather, have already complained, that by getting bark from Wales, we are enabled to work on as good terms as England."

"Let him look to hops; will this country grow them? On the other hand, what wants do we ſupply for England? Wool and linen yarn, to our own great advantage; but it is in vain to proceed; the Houſe muſt ſee that we are talking

of

of a ſubject not yet underſtood; when known, and Ireland, unprejudiced, and in her calm reaſon, will never reject the many bleſſings it holds out to her trade; it gives wealth and ſecurity, which I truſt will never be refuſed, from a wild imagination of Utopian republics, commonwealths, monarchies, God knows what."

I now refer the reader to the account, marked No. 15, in Mr. Irving's returns, and, annexed to this work, No. 8, it will appear from this account, that on an average of four years to 1799, we exported from Ireland to Britain, of our products, and manufactures to the amount of 5,510,825*l.* annually, and that we imported into Ireland, upon the ſame average of the products and manufactures of Britain, 2,087,672*l.* leaving a balance in favour of this country, of 3,425,153*l.* and it appears further from the account No. 2, that of the ſum of 2,087,672*l.* ſo exported to Ireland, no leſs a ſum than 447,000*l.* conſiſted of articles of the nature of raw materials, ſuch as Allum, Tanner's Bark, Coals, Hops, Rock-ſalt, &c. many of which are eſſential to the manufactures of Ireland.

From the account No. 9, it further appears, that the total value of the exports from Ireland into Britain, amounted to 5,612,000*l.* and that the imports from Britain into Ireland were only 3,555,000*l.* including in both caſes foreign merchandize imported through the medium of the one country into the other, and that there was of courſe a clear balance in favor of Ireland of 2,056,000*l.*

Now we not only gain this great balance upon the whole reſult of our dealings with Great Britain, but if we examine minutely the account No. 1, we ſhall find that our exports conſiſt but of a few great articles, for which we could find a market in no other part of the world, that I know of, to any extent.

Mr. Foſter acknowledges the value of the market which Britain affords us for our linens, but he denies that the proſperity and increaſe of that manufacture, is owing to the duties impoſed by Britain on foreign linens, or to the bounty given by Britain on the export of Iriſh linen, or that it depends at all upon the Britiſh parliament, and aſſerts, that it owes its preſent flouriſhing ſtate, to the foſtering care of the Iriſh parliament.

I ſhall decline entering into this argument at large, it will be ſufficient to conſider matters as they are; although were I to deliver an opinion upon the ſubject, I ſhould not heſitate to

 ſay,

ſay, that both the duty on foreign linen, and alſo the bounty on the export of Iriſh linen from Britain, muſt have eſſentially contributed to the increaſe and proſperity of our manufacture.

That a heavy duty on foreign linens, amounting at preſent on an average, to 36*l.* 10*s.* *per cent.* on the rated value, and in the loweſt inſtance to 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* *per cent.* muſt have a very conſiderable effect towards ſecuring the Engliſh market to Iriſh linens againſt a rival commodity, appears to me to be ſelf evident.

If foreign linens with ſuch a duty on them, can find their way into the Britiſh market, in oppoſition to the Iriſh, can there be a doubt, that the Iriſh would have been driven out if theſe duties had not been impoſed, and we ought ſtrongly to acknowledge the kindneſs of England, in laying on theſe duties, in order to give us a preference in her market: 1. Becauſe it is a notorious fact, that by her doing ſo, ſhe has injured the ſale of her own woollen manufactures, in the foreign markets; duties having been laid upon them, in return for thoſe impoſed upon foreign linens. And 2. Becauſe it is clear, that by her impoſing theſe duties, ſhe conſumes not only the quantity of foreign linen ſhe uſes, at 36*l.* 10*s.* *per cent.* higher than ſhe would do, was there no duty on them; but alſo that ſhe conſumes near 30,000,000 yards of Iriſh linen, at ſuch advanced price as the foreign linen could afford to underſell them by, which in this caſe appears to be 36*l.* 10*s.* *per cent.*; which upon about 41,000,000 of yards, the quantity of foreign and Iriſh linen conſumed in Britain, valuing the linen at 1*s.* 8*d.* a yard, will amount to no leſs a ſum than 1,184,333*l.* a year; to which is to be added 29,232*l.* the bounty paid on export, total 1,213,565*l.* which England does now actually pay, for the encouragement of the Iriſh linen manufacture.

Let us now conſider what has been the operation of theſe high duties upon foreign linens; which I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, from a comparative view of the import and conſumption of Iriſh and foreign linen in Britain, in the year 1785 and 1798.

I have heard the conſumption of linen in England, eſtimated at 65,000,000 of yards annually; and as it is immaterial whether this eſtimate be right or wrong, in this caſe, as the compariſon is to be made between the Iriſh and the foreign linens, I ſhall aſſume that this calculation is a true one.

The

| | | Yards. |
|---|---|---|
| Total quantity of linen consumed in England in 1785 | | 65.000.000 |
| Ireland imported of that quantity | 21.000.000 | |
| Of which was re-exported | 2.500.000 | |
| Remained for consumption | | 18.500.000 |
| And foreign countries imported | 27.000.000 | |
| Of which was re-exported | 8.000.000 | |
| Remained for consumption | | 19.000.000 |
| Of course Britain supplied | | 27.500.000 |
| Consumption of England in 1798 | | 65.000.000 |
| Ireland imported of that quantity | 35.300.610 | |
| Of which was re-exported | 6.429.476 | |
| Remained for consumption | | 28.871.134 |
| Foreign countries imported | 14.763.014 | |
| Of which was re-exported | 3.014.850 | |
| Remained for consumption | | 11.748.164 |
| Of course Britain supplied | | 24.380.702 |
| | | 65.000.000 |
| From this statement it appears, that the quantity of foreign linen exported from Britain in 1785, was | | 8.000.000 |
| That the quantity of Irish was | | 2.500.000 |
| Excess of foreign | | 5.500.000 |
| That the quantity of Irish exported from Britain in 1798, was | | 6.429.476 |
| And of foreign | | 3.014.850 |
| Excess of Irish | | 3.414.626 |
| That the quantity of foreign linen consumed in England, in 1785, was | | 19.000.000 |
| And of Irish | | 18.500.000 |
| Excess of foreign | | 500.000 |

| | Yards. |
|---|---|
| That the quantity of Iriſh conſumed in 1798, was | 28.871.134 |
| And of foreign | 11.748.164 |
| Exceſs of Iriſh | 17.122.970 |
| That Ireland imported for conſumption into England, in 1798 | 28.871.134 |
| And in 1785, ſhe imported only | 18.500.000 |
| Increaſe | 10.371.134 |
| That foreign countries imported into England for conſumption, in 1785 | 19.000.000 |
| And in 1798 only | 11.748.164 |
| Decreaſe | 7.251.836 |
| That Ireland imported into Britain for re-exportation, in 1798 | 6.429.476 |
| And in 1785 only | 2.500.000 |
| Increaſe | 3.929.476 |
| That foreign countries imported into England for re-exportation, in 1785 | 8.000.000 |
| And in 1798 only | 3.014.626 |
| Decreaſe | 4.985.374 |

The ſtatement here given is made upon ſingle years; it would be much ſtronger, were it made upon the average of ten years, given by Mr. Irving in the account No. 8, for according to that account, the average quantity of linen exported from Ireland in ten years, to 1798, was 35,544,607
And by No. 9, the quantity re-exported was 5,343,440

Leaving for conſumption 30,201,167

From the conſideration of theſe ſeveral ſtatements, it is evident, that under the preſent ſyſtem of laws, and under the operation of the high duties upon foreign linens, the Iriſh linens are, in every inſtance, ſuperſeding the foreign in the Britiſh markets; and in like manner it ſhould ſeem, from the progreſs which our manufacture has made, ſince the year 1743, when the export bounty in England was granted, that

that we are equally indebted to that country, for this other inſtance of her liberality.

This progreſs will beſt appear by the following table:

An account of the quantity of linen-cloth exported from Ireland, upon an average of ſeven years, from the year 1715, to the year 1742, the year before the bounty upon export was granted in England, and from thence to the year 1798.

| 7 Years to | Yards. |
|---|---|
| 1721 | 2.334.843 |
| 1728 | 4.660.355 |
| 1735 | 4.196.106 |
| 1742 | 6.384.953 |
| 1749 | 7.715.225 |
| 1756 | 11.796.361 |
| 1763 | 14.511.973 |
| 1770 | 17.776.862 |
| 1777 | 20.252.239 |
| 1784 | 20.063.977 |
| 1791 | 32.492.599 |
| 1798 | 41.670.659 |

If we wanted any further proof of the efficacy of bounty upon our linen manufacture, I would refer the reader to Mr. Foſter's ſpeech in 1785, page 110, he there ſays,

"As to bounties, England almoſt ruined our manufacture of ſail-cloth by bounties on her own to Ireland, in 1750, or thereabouts, when her bounty commenced, we exported more than we imported, and in 1784, we exported none, and imported 180,000 yards."

Surely then, if the bounty on Britiſh ſail-cloth, could ſo ſuddenly annihilate our manufacture, the bounty received by our linen on exportation from Britain, muſt have had conſiderable influence in promoting the proſperity of that manufacture.

Again, Mr. Foſter ſtates, in his printed ſpeech of this year, page 85, "That the bounty commenced in 1743, and operated as 12 *per cent.* on Britiſh, and 6½ *per cent.* only on Iriſh linen, the remaining 5½ compenſating the charges of freight, commiſſion, &c. from Ireland to Britain, by which unequal encouragement, the export of Britiſh roſe in 1763, to be equal to that of Iriſh, ſince which time, the export of Britiſh has ſo increaſed our Iriſh, that the proportion of

the

the bounty is now as 22,935 *l.* is to 24,959 *l.* if then the difference of 5½ *per cent.* bounty, in favour of British linen, as opposed to Irish, shall have had the effect here stated, will not 6½ *per cent.* in favour of Irish, as opposed to foreign linen, produce as great an effect in favour of the Irish.

And here, before I quit this part of the subject, let me draw the reader's attention to this observation, that if Britain, at this day, can supply so great a proportion of her own consumption of linen, as has been herein shewn, and that such a bounty as she gave upon sail-cloth in 1750, or a difference of 5½ *per cent.* in the bounty on export, shall, in the one instance, annihilate one species of our manufacture, and in the other, give so decided an advantage, in every other species of our linen export from England, can any man say with truth, that this manufacture did not, or does not, in any degree, depend upon the will, the liberality, or the generosity of the British Parliament, God forbid that any consideration should ever induce Britain to try experiments upon this subject, but as such are possible, I join heartily in the sentiments of Mr. Foster, in 1785, page 108—"As the propositions then under consideration, would for ever confirm all the advantages we derive from our linen trade, and bind England from making any law, that can be injurious to it; surely, gentlemen, who regard that trade, and whose fortunes and rents depend on its prosperity, will not entertain a moment's doubt about embracing an offer which will secure it."

| | *Yards.* |
|---|---|
| It appears by the account No. 10, that the total export of linens from Ireland, upon an average of 7 years to 1798, amounted to | 41,670,659 |
| of which there was exported to Britain and the British settlements, | 36,908,574 |
| and to the United States of America, | 3,856,399 |
| and to the rest of the world, | 905,686 |

so that ⅞ of our export of linens go to Britain, and the British settlements; where then are we to look for a market for ⅞ of our linens, if any misfortune should deprive us of the British?

Mr. Foster tells us indeed, in page 88 and 89, of his speech of this year, "That if our linen was prohibited, to the British ports, it is impossible to foresee what ports we may find, what returns we may get, and in those how much of what she now supplies us with, may be included. We know our linens, beat the German and the Russian in the

*American*

*American market*, they are preferred even to the Scotch, and no nation can bring the fabric to the perfection we do, not perhaps ſo much from ſuperior ſkill, as from the peculiar fitneſs of our climate for bleaching, which gives a pleaſing whiteneſs and durability, that no other bleached linen poſſeſſes."

"We know," he ſays, "that *Spain and Portugal*, conſume an immenſity not only at home, but in their extended colonies, which their fabricks do not furniſh, and which we were beginning to ſupply. In no place are we protected againſt German linens, except in Britain, and yet ours is finding its way almoſt every where."

I refer the reader to the account No. 10, above quoted, and I deſire to know where thoſe places are, to which our linens are finding their way, ſo as to ſupply the place of the Britiſh market; no ſuch places appear to me, upon the face of our accounts, and I am afraid that none ſuch will appear, and of this opinion was Mr. Foſter in 1785, when in anſwering Mr. Grattan, page 193, he ſays—

"Gentlemen ſeem to undervalue the Britiſh markets for our linen, and that if Britain ſhall diſcourage their import, they will find vent elſewhere, I would aſk them where would they expect to find a market to favour the linens of Ireland? where will they find a market under Heaven for that manufacture, which now brings 2,000,000l. annually into the kingdom? Will *Portugal* take them? Will *Spain* take them? Will *France* take them? No; they will not. Will *Ruſſia*, *Germany* or *Holland* take them? They are your profeſſed rivals, and able to underſell you. Where then will you find a market, if England ſhuts her ports? Will you go to the Weſt Indies? You cannot go to the Engliſh colonies, they will be like Britain; there you can have no admittance. The French, Spaniſh, and Portugueſe have ſhut their ports long ſince—your only market then is, in the bankrupt States of *North America*, that have not money to pay their juſt debts, and many provinces of which, if they had the money, have not perhaps the honeſty to do it. This bankrupt country is to give you the market Britain affords.—No, no; cheriſh the market you have, you will never get ſo good; ſhe ever exports *with bounty* for you; and here let me obſerve the benefits of exporting duty free all our fabrics through *her ports*, which this ſettlement ſecures."

"You firſt found the way for your linens to foreign places, through *her ports*, by *her capital*, and extent of dealing

dealing; do not refuſe the like for your other fabrics, the proſperity of the linen ſhould teach you."

How are theſe ſentiments of his in 1785, to be reconciled to his opinion in 1799, given in pages 88 and 89, before quoted? Or with his aſſertions in page 82—"That neither the Britiſh duties on foreign linens, nor the Britiſh bounties on Iriſh linens, exported from Britain, are cauſes of the proſperity of our linen trade; and that foreign colony produce could be procured and paid for, by our linens, and that an extended and very beneficial market might be opened thereby."

I am equally at a loſs to reconcile other paragraphs of theſe two celebrated ſpeeches, for inſtance, Mr. Foſter in 1799, page 77 ſays,

"We are told in the ſame glaring parade of general aſſertion, that this project will give us a full participation of all the extended commerce, and with it of all the wealth of Britain, the greateſt and proudeſt country under Heaven; that ſhe offers a full partnerſhip. Why ſir, this talk might do to people who are ignorant; but let me tell you, and no man can contradict me, that we are as free to trade to all the world, as Britain is at this moment; and that if the miniſter was to aſk me, what benefit he could offer, what trade he could open, what manufactures he could promote, my anſwer, and I ſpeak it from a firm conviction, would be this —You can give us nothing, and my only requeſt on the part of Ireland is, *that you will let us alone.*"

"I ſpeak not of ſome trifling articles, which poſſibly in hunting through the book of rates, might occur on paper, but they are few, if any, and of ſo little moment, that they are not felt, for it would require a hunt to find them."

In 1785, page 106, Mr. Foſter ſays "Great Britain offers to take us into partnerſhip in her trade, ſhe an old eſtabliſhed country, raiſed by commerce alone, to a height above any other European power, invites us to partake of the means that raiſed her to wealth and greatneſs, to a full and equal ſhare in that trade, which coſt her millions to obtain, and will coſt her millions to preſerve."

In page 192, in anſwer to Mr. Grattan, he ſays,

"The Right Hon. Gentleman ſays we might have foreign trade without entering into this meaſure, and that England, as to foreign trade, gives us no right which we already have not; as to colony trade, he ſays ſhe gives us what we had before, on the former conditions that we give her colony products a preference in our market; and therefore, he ſays, *cannot we remain as we now are.*

"With

"With reſpect to the colony trade," replies Mr. Foſter," I anſwer, we hold it *by the gift of Britain* and ſhe *may repeal her act and reaſſume her monopoly*. As to foreign trade, I have ſhewn that it is no way affected, except by the preference to be given to Britiſh colony goods, againſt thoſe of foreign colonies, but why does the gentleman allude to Portugal? It is the ſtrongeſt meaſure againſt him: Portugal has preſumed to diſtinguiſh between the goods of Great Britain and the goods of Ireland, ſhe will not receive the latter, but if this ſettlement is entered into, all our goods ſhe can have, may go duty free through Britain; the diſtinction between Britiſh and Iriſh manufacture is loſt, as to foreign nations; our goods are made one phyſically, as well as politically, in reſpect to foreign, and our union cemented by the freedom of intercourſe."

Mr. Foſter ſays further in page 77, "What port in the known world can a Britiſh ſhip go to from Britain, that an Iriſh ſhip cannot go with the ſame cargo from Ireland? What article, great or ſmall, can a Britiſh ſhip import into Britain, or Ireland, that an Iriſh ſhip cannot import equally into Ireland or Britain? I ſpeak not of the Eaſt-India ſettlements, though Ireland is as free to them, as Britain is. What manufacture can Britain eſtabliſh, or encourage, which Ireland is not equally free by law to do. If new ſources of trade ſhall be opened by conqueſt, or by treaty, do they not belong equally, and at the ſame inſtant to Ireland?"

"I aſk thoſe queſtions explicitly, and I defy any man to ſhew an inſtance."

Mr. Foſter in 1785, has himſelf anſwered theſe queſtions moſt explicitly, when he ſaid.

*That we hold theſe rights by the gift of Britain, and that ſhe may repeal her act, and reaſſume her monopoly.*

In 1799 Mr. Foſter, page 87 and 88 in treating of the raw materials furniſhed to us now by Britain, ſuch as coals, hops, bark, rock-ſalt, &c. ſays

"Should raſh councils, forgetting the advantages of friendly intercourſe, attempt to prohibit or clog thoſe articles with duties, which no man in either country deprecates more ſincerely than I do, neceſſity may compel us to ſearch for coal, which exiſts in Ireland, but which we have never looked for effectually. It would not take many years, with proper and regular application to ſupply ourſelves with bark, nor perhaps with hops; and ſalt can be got."

In 1785, page 110, Mr. Foſter ſays as before quoted." England imports to us ſalt for our fiſheries and proviſions; hops, which you cannot grow; coals, which we cannot raiſe; tin, which we have not, and bark which we cannot get elſewhere, &c. vide before page 32.

And in page 193 and 194, he ſays: "Do you think it an object of no conſequence to receive coals from England, for ever, duty free, while the duties on coals in England brought from one of her own Ports to another, are very high. England may now raiſe any ſum on the export of her coals, which will fall upon the conſumer, and raiſe a revenue for her advantage."

"Rock-ſalt is the next, where will you get it?"

"As to the tanning-trade, where will you get bark? from no place in the world but England, and if ſhe was to prohibit the export of it, that trade muſt be at an end."

Let him look to Hops; will this country grow them?

I have quoted theſe laſt paragraphs from Mr. Foſter's ſpeech in 1785 ſhort, as the whole is before inſerted in page 32 of this pamphlet.

I have quoted theſe paragraphs, and oppoſed them one to the other, juſt to ſhew with how much eaſe Mr. Foſter can make the various articles of trade, and raw materials of manufactures, ſuit his purpoſe, he can either raiſe them in Ireland, when he wants them there, for his argument, or ſhew the utter impoſſibility of their being ever raiſed there,

there, when it ſuits him better. We can have no coals; when it is neceſſary to ſhew, that we can have no manufactures, or employment for Britiſh capital, for want of fuel; and we can ſearch for coal, which exiſts in Ireland, and find it, when it ſuits him to make us independent of England for that article.

In like manner in 1785, rock-ſalt can be had only from England; in 1799, ſhould raſh counſels prevail, rock-ſalt can be had, but we are not told from whence.

So in 1785, bark for tanning can be had from England alone, and if ſhe witheld it, there muſt be an end to the tanning trade; in 1799, it would not take many years, by proper and regular application, to ſupply ourſelves with bark.

Hops ſeem to be a little more problematical, it is only ſaid that the ſame application might *perhaps* ſupply us with hops.

In 1785, Great Britain taking us into partnerſhip in her great trade, would raiſe us to wealth and greatneſs; in 1799, ſhe has not any thing to give, and an offer of full partnerſhip is idle talk, fit only to amuſe the ignorant.

In 1799, Ireland can in deſpite of Britain, trade to any part of the world, and in any article whatever, that Britain can; but in 1785, we are told that we hold the right of trading to Britain and her Colonies, with whom 6-7ths of our trade is carried on, by the gift of Britain, *ſhe may repeal her Act, and reaſſume her monopoly.*

In 1785, we are adviſed to cheriſh the market of Britain, for our linens, we are told we never can get ſuch another, that neither Spain, Portugal, France, Germany, or Holland will take them from us, that England not only takes them for her own conſumption, but exports them with bounty, for us, and we are ſtrongly urged not only to continue to ſend our linens thus through England, but as we have experienced the good effects of it, in reſpect to them to accept of the offer then made us, and not refuſe the like advantages for our other fabricks.

In 1799, we are told that neither the high duties impoſed on foreign linens, nor the bounty paid by England on the export of our linen, are the cauſe of the proſperity of our manufacture, and that if our linens were prohibited to the Britiſh Ports, it is impoſſible to foreſee what Ports we may find, that we know that Spain and Portugal conſume an immenſity

menſity of linen in their own countries and their ſettlements, which we may ſupply; and that as we are not protected any where againſt German linens, except in England, it is probable our linen will find a market every where.

To what is it that we are to attribute ſuch contradictory opinions and arguments? The explanation I ſhall leave to my readers; my reſpect for Mr. Foſter muſt prevent me from forming any conjectures on the occaſion.

No. 1.

*in, on an Average of the laſt three Years, diſtin-and Manufactures of Ireland from thoſe Articles*

uct and Manufacture of IRELAND.

| d agreeably to Eſtimates in the pector-General's ice. | | | Rate or real Value agreeably to the Prices current on a Medium of the Years. | Real Value agreeably to the Prices current. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *l.* | *s.* | *d.* | | | | |
| 2,989 | 0 | 0 | 503 per Cwt. | 5,467 | 0 | 0 |
| 1,879 | 0 | 0 | 383 per Cwt. | 2,592 | 0 | 0 |
| 3,911 | 0 | 0 | £.2 2*s.* per Cwt. | 14,567 | 0 | 0 |
| 3,484 | 0 | 0 | £.5 10*s.* per Cwt. | 2,733 | 0 | 0 |
| 1,164 | 0 | 0 | £.3 per Cwt. | 4,128 | 0 | 0 |
| 1,302 | 0 | 0 | 8*d.* per lb. | 4,629 | 0 | 0 |
| 1,940 | 0 | 0 | £.3 per 120 | 8,862 | 0 | 0 |
| 1,592 | 0 | 0 | 138*d.* per lb. | 24,548 | 0 | 0 |
| 1,810 | 0 | 0 | | 34,335 | 0 | 0 |
| 4,071 | 0 | 0 | | 101,864 | 0 | 0 |

Signed, THOMAS IRVING,

*r-General of Imports and Exports of Great-Britain.*

1ſt February, 1799.

ral has in obedience to their Lordſhips commands in with as much accuracy as in his power, the real nported from Ireland, on an average of the three ler that their Lordſhips may be enabled to judge es are juſtly formed, he has inſerted the rate or to each of the principal articles.

UNIV. OF MICH.

No, 2.

*the Produce and Manufacture of*
*ishing the principal Articles: and*
*e of Raw Materials.*

TURE of RAW MATERIALS

| Rated or Official value. | | | Declared value or Value agreeable to the Prices current. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | | | £ | |
| 4,581 | 0 | 0 | 5,456 | 0 | 0 |
| 41,305 | 0 | 0 | 90,517 | 0 | 0 |
| 322,583 | 0 | 0 | 152,430 | 0 | 0 |
| 5,227 | 0 | 0 | 3,919 | 0 | 0 |
| 52,760 | 0 | 0 | 103,520 | 0 | 0 |
| 4,190 | 0 | 0 | 6,284 | 0 | 0 |
| 3,164 | 0 | 0 | 3,164 | 0 | 0 |
| 4,729 | 0 | 0 | 7,235 | 0 | 0 |
| 2,987 | 0 | 0 | 4,870 | 0 | 0 |
| 4,210 | 0 | 1 | 4,210 | 0 | 0 |
| 22,532 | 0 | 0 | 22,532 | 0 | 0 |
| 10,875 | 0 | 0 | 10,875 | 0 | 0 |
| 15,720 | 0 | 0 | 32,465 | 0 | 0 |
| 693,863 | 0 | 0 | 447,477 | 0 | 0 |
| 995,615 | 0 | 0 | 1,643,195 | 0 | 0 |
| 589,678 | 0 | 0 | 2,287,672 | 0 | 0 |

ING,
eneral of the Imports and
Great Britain.

e obtained from the Declaration of the
e of similar Goods exported to other
last Session of Parliament, commonly

UNIV. OF MICH.

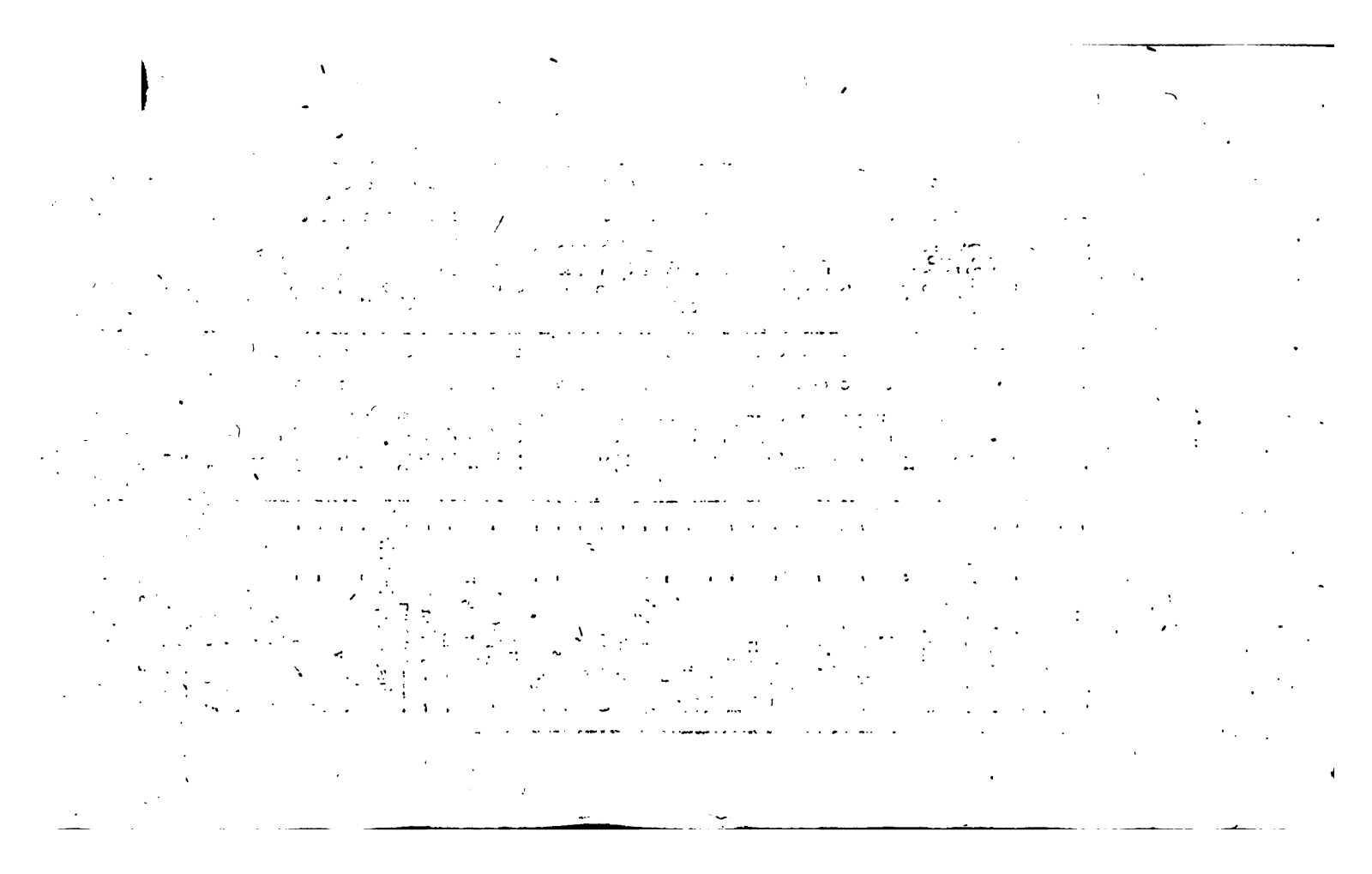
*An Account of the rated Value, and of the Value agreeable to the Prices current, of the Foreign Merchandize exported from Great-Britain to Ireland, on an Average of the laſt Three Years, diſtinguiſhing the principal Articles.*

| | Rated, or official Value. | | | Real Value | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | s. | d | £. | s. | d |
| Aſhes, pearl | 10.328 | 0 | 0 | 16.375 | 0 | 0 |
| ——, pot | 16.883 | 0 | 0 | 22.508 | 0 | 0 |
| Barilla | 3.279 | 0 | 0 | 8.635 | 0 | 0 |
| Brimſtone | 2.490 | 0 | 0 | 2.960 | 0 | 0 |
| China ware | 646 | 0 | 0 | 646 | 0 | 0 |
| Sacharum Saturni | 1.124 | 0 | 0 | 1.349 | 0 | 0 |
| Succus liquoritiæ | 2.752 | 0 | 0 | 2.736 | 0 | 0 |
| Cochineal | 3.391 | 0 | 0 | 3.767 | 0 | 0 |
| Indigo | 12.266 | 0 | 0 | 14.400 | 0 | 0 |
| Logwood | 1.702 | 0 | 0 | 4.416 | 0 | 0 |
| Madder | 4.353 | 0 | 0 | 6.282 | 0 | 0 |
| Mahogany | 3.043 | 0 | 0 | 2.288 | 0 | 0 |
| Red wood | 2,719 | 0 | 0 | 2.719 | 0 | 0 |
| Flax, rough | 11.105 | 0 | 0 | 16 960 | 0 | 0 |
| Coffee | 3.286 | 0 | 0 | 1.237 | 0 | 0 |
| Currants | 844 | 0 | 0 | 1.009 | 0 | 0 |
| Pepper | 5.533 | 0 | 0 | 5.533 | 0 | 0 |
| Rice | 1.259 | 0 | 0 | 1.103 | 0 | 0 |
| Sugar | 398.113 | 0 | 0 | 505.716 | 0 | 0 |
| Tea | 367.887 | 0 | 0 | 367.887 | 0 | 0 |
| Hemp, rough | 6.570 | 0 | 0 | 9.205 | 0 | 0 |
| Iron, bar | 35.752 | 0 | 0 | 54.700 | 0 | 0 |
| Oil, train | 2.146 | 0 | 0 | 3.240 | 0 | 0 |
| Callicoes | 499 | 0 | 0 | 499 | 0 | 0 |
| Muſlins | 1.826 | 0 | 0 | 1.826 | 0 | 0 |
| Beef | 493 | 0 | 0 | 982 | 0 | 0 |
| Saltpetre | 11.268 | 0 | 0 | 9.360 | 0 | 0 |
| Seeds, linſeed | 7.309 | 0 | 0 | 5.462 | 0 | 0 |
| Silk, Bengal, raw | 17.228 | 0 | 0 | 16 565 | 0 | 0 |
| —— China | 3.327 | 0 | 0 | 4.607 | 0 | 0 |
| —— Italian | 3.194 | 0 | 0 | 2.672 | 0 | 0 |
| —— thrown | 52.949 | 0 | 0 | 42.399 | 0 | 0 |
| Skins, deer, in hair | 3.439 | 0 | 0 | 6.305 | 0 | 0 |
| Rum | 17.427 | 0 | 0 | 14.893 | 0 | 0 |
| Tallow | 2.746 | 0 | 0 | 4.267 | 0 | 0 |
| Tar | 1.737 | 0 | 0 | 1.527 | 0 | 0 |
| Tobacco | 96.212 | 0 | 0 | 165.717 | 0 | 0 |
| Turpentine | 797 | 0 | 0 | 854 | 0 | 0 |
| Wood, ſtaves, | 8.210 | 0 | 0 | 32.868 | 0 | 0 |
| Timber, oak | 644 | 0 | 0 | 676 | 0 | 0 |
| Wool, cotton | 12.458 | 0 | 0 | 30.374 | 0 | 0 |
| —— Spaniſh | 2.834 | 0 | 0 | 4.959 | 0 | 0 |
| Yarn, mohair | 1.549 | 0 | 0 | 2.324 | 0 | 0 |
| Miſcellaneous | 42.244 | 0 | 0 | 63 366 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 1.185 861 | 0 | 0 | 1.468 373 | 0 | 0 |

Copy.

Signed, THOMAS IRVING,
*Inſpector General of Exports and Imports of Great-Britain.*

UNIV. OF MIC



## Mr. IRVING's ACCOUNT, No. 8.

### Appendix No. 4.

## An Account of the Quantity of Iriſh Linens imported into Great Britain, in the laſt Ten Years, diſtinguiſhing each Year.

| | Plain Iriſh Shirting and Sheeting Linens. | Iriſh, above 36 inches wide. | | | Iriſh under 36 inches wide. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Years.* | *Yards.* | *Ct.* | *Qrs.* | *Ells.* | *Ct.* | *Qrs.* | *Ells.* |
| 1789 - | 30.044.960 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 24 | 3 | 9 |
| 1790 - | 31.823.622 | 1 | 3 | 23 | 43 | 0 | 29 |
| 1791 - | 36.232.888 | 3 | 0 | 19 | 34 | 3 | 24 |
| 1792 - | 38.142.248 | 0 | 2 | 13 | 107 | 3 | 25 |
| 1793 - | 32.518.709 | 1 | 2 | 18 | 27 | 1 | 17 |
| 1794 - | 38.018.102 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 29 | 0 | 22 |
| 1795 - | 38.427.559 | 0 | 1 | 26 | 18 | 1 | 20 |
| 1796 - | 35.067.416 | 0 | 1 | 22 | 6 | 0 | 24 |
| 1797 - | 39.869.965 | 0 | 1 | 10 | 111 | 3 | 25 |
| 1798 - | 35.300.610 | 0 | 3 | 14 | 29 | 1 | 3 |
| | 355.446.079 | | | | | | |
| Average - | 35.544.607 | | | | | | |

*Inſpector-General's Office, Cuſtom-House, London, February 21, 1799.*

THOMAS IRVING, *Inſpector-General, of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.*

UNIV. OF MICH.

## MR. IRVING'S ACCOUNT, No. 9. Appendix, No. 5.

*An Account of the Quantity of Iriſh Linens exported from Great Britain in the laſt Ten Years, diſtinguiſhing thoſe Iriſh Linens upon which a Britiſh Bounty was paid on Exportation, together with the Amount of ſuch Bounty in each Year.*

| | ENTITLED TO BOUNTY. | | | | | | NOT ENTITLED TO BOUNTY. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Plain ſhirting Linen. | Sheeting. | Diaper. | Amount of Britiſh bounty paid on Iriſh Linen exported. | | | Plain Iriſh Linen above bounty. | Checked. | Under 36 inches wide | | | Entered at value. | | |
| | *Yards* | *Yards.* | *Yards.* | £. | *s.* | *d.* | | | *cwt.* | *qrs.* | *ells.* | £. | *s.* | *d.* |
| 1789 | 3.587.848 | 59.031 | —— | 21.467 | 15 | 4 | 196.437 | —— | 193 | 3 | 9 | —— | | |
| 1790 | 3.805.459 | 58.244 | 9.157 | 19.588 | 16 | 1½ | 162 770 | —— | 97 | 1 | 11 | —— | | |
| 1791 | 4.736.421 | 42.451 | 5.968 | 30.731 | 5 | 2 | 340.474 | 714 | —— | | | —— | | |
| 1792 | 5 598.446 | 61.403 | 8.468 | 36.453 | 13 | 3 | 306.372 | —— | 134 | 0 | 7 | —— | | |
| 1793 | 4.679 911 | 71.165 | 6.863 | 28.627 | 11 | 8 | 235.796 | —— | 20 | 0 | 0 | —— | | |
| 1794 | 6.378.811 | 49.690 | 33.392 | 45.095 | 12 | 1 | 331.358 | —— | —— | | | 15 865 | 0 | 0 |
| 1795 | 7.482.147 | 68.910 | 13.262 | 42.838 | 15 | 5 | 463.733 | 1003 | —— | | | 44.146 | 0 | 0 |
| 1796 | 4.045.152 | 39.185 | 180 | 42.602 | 15 | 9 | 808.367 | —— | 8 | 0 | 11 | 30.033 | 8 | 0 |
| 1797 | 3.290.100 | 12.971 | 3.490 | 24.459 | 12 | 5 | 583.026 | 1188 | 97 | 2 | 9 | 13.044 | 1 | 3 |
| 1798 | 4.481.165 | 26.166 | 1.433 | 29.232 | 10 | 2 | 1.920.712 | —— | —— | | | 41.150 | 13 | 0 |

*INSPECTOR-GENERAL'S OFFICE,*
CUSTOM-HOUSE, LONDON,
Feb. 21, 1799.

THOMAS IRVING.
*Inſpector-General of the Imports and Exports of Great-Britain.*

UNIV. OF MICH.

6.

Year 1792, were favoured in the Duties on
from thence; and also, on the like Arti-
n the above Period prohibited from being

| oduce of | Ireland. | | | Other Countries. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | l. | s. | d. | l. | s. | d. |
| ard - - | Free | | | From 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | | | | To 0 | 4 | 8 |
| ing, the 120 ells - | Free | | | From 0 | 15 | 5 |
| | | | | To 14 | 7 | 6 |
| wise bed per cent. ad Valorem - | Free | | | 33 | 6 | 8 |
| nted, per cent. ad Valorem - | 49 | 10 | 0 | 80 | 4 | 2 |
| of 12 barrels - | 0 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 5 |
| - - - | Free | | | Prohibited | | |
| eight - - | 0 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| ls - - | Free | | | From 2 | 1 | 9 |
| | | | | To 3 | 16 | 1 |
| ast - - | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 12 | 6 |
| - - - | Free | | | Prohibited | | |
| dozen - - | Free | | | 0 | 2 | 9 |
| eight - - | Free | | | From 0 | 0 | 1 76/100 |
| | | | | To 0 | 2 | 9 |
| he hundred feet - | 0 | 2 | 9 | 1 | 19 | 8 |
| e pound weight - | Free | | | 0 | 0 | 3½ |
| or Bay, the hundred - - - | Free | | | 0 | 14 | 8 |

W. SIMS, D. Col.
T. RICHARDSON, Comptr.

UNIV. OF MICH.

*Rate of Duty to which ſuch Articles were*
*tion to that Kingdom, and alſo to Foreign*
*to Foreign Countries, but which might be*

---

*to Foreign Countries, but permitted to be exported to Ireland.*

gold and ſilver.
ed in the cotton or linen manufacture;
nd alſo in the woollen, ſilk, iron, and ſteel
manufactures.
ceeding four ſhillings per pair
hen prohibited in Great-Britain, allowed
o Ireland, if an embargo be laid on the
rticle in that kingdom.

nties given by Parliament on Britiſh ſhips in
ery, allowed for ſhips from Ireland. Ships
all the privileges of Britiſh ſhips.

s are very numerous.

T. WILLIMOTT, COL.
J. D. HUME, DEP. COMR.

UNIV. OF MICH.

## Mr. IRVING's ACCOUNT, No. 15.

APPENDIX, No. 8.

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An Account of the Value of the Products and Manufactures of Ireland, imported annually into Great-Britain, on an Average of the three Years preceding the 5th of January, 1799; and alſo, an Account of the true Value of the Products and Manufactures of Great-Britain exported to Ireland for the ſame Period, with the Amount of the Exceſs or Balance in favour of each Country.

| | Value of the Products and Manufactures of Ireland imported into Gt. Britain. | Value of the Products and Manufactures of Great Britain exported to Ireland. | Exceſs or Balance in favour of Ireland. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *l.* *s.* *d.* | *l.* *s.* *d.* | *l.* *s.* *d.* |
| | 5,510,825 0 0 | 2,087,672 0 0 | 3,423,153 0 0 |

*Inſpector-General's Office, Cuſtom-Houſe, London, March 5th, 1799.*

THOMAS IRVING,
*Inſpector General of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain.*

## Mr. IRVING's ACCOUNT, No. 16.—Appendix No. 9.

*An account of the True Value, taken on an Average of the Three Years preceding the 5th of January, 1799, of the Iriſh Products and Manufactures, and of the Foreign Merchandize annually Imported into Great Britain from Ireland; likewiſe an Account of the true Value of Britiſh Products and Manufactures, and of Foreign Merchandize exported from Great Britain to Ireland on an Average of the ſame Period, with Amount of the Exceſs or Ballance in favour of either Country.*

| | Total value of Imports into Great Britain from Ireland | | | Total Value of Exports from Great Britain to Ireland. | | | Exceſs or Balance of Trade in favour of Ireland. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
| | 5,612,689 | 0 | 0 | 3,555,845 | 0 | 0 | 2,056,844 | 0 | 0 |

Inſpector General's Office,
Cuſtom-Houſe, London.
March 5th, 1799.

THOMAS IRVING,
Inſpector General of Imports
and Exports of Great Britain.

# APPENDIX, No. 10.

## An Account of the Number of Yards of Plain Linen exported from Ireland in the laſt Seven Years, diſtinguiſhing the Quantity taken by Britiſh Subjects from that taken by others.

| | Years ending 25th March. | Exported to Great Britain. | To the Britiſh Plantations & Settlements. | Total. | Exported to the United States of America. | To Foreign Countries and Settlements. | Total. | Total to all the World. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Yards.* | *Yards.* | *Yards.* | *Yards.* | *Yards.* | *Yards.* | *Yards.* |
| | 1792 | 39,372,174 | 2,645,352 | 41,017,526 | 3,544,252 | 1,019,889 | 4,564,141 | 45,581,667 |
| | 1793 | 37,199,928 | 1,226,504 | 38,426,432 | 3,949,485 | 936,140 | 4,885,625 | 43,312,057 |
| | 1794 | 38,186,208 | 803,233 | 38,989,441 | 3,450,675 | 817,648 | 4,268,323 | 43,257,764 |
| | 1795 | 35,245,643 | 1,398,377 | 36,644,020 | 4,507,812 | 1,629,008 | 6,136,820 | 42,780,840 |
| | 1796 | 37,064,297 | 2,289,625 | 39,353,922 | 5,764,563 | 1,586,886 | 7,351,451 | 46,705,373 |
| | 1797 | 31,188,229 | 954,152 | 32,142,381 | 4,142,609 | 274,756 | 4,417,365 | 36,559,746 |
| | 1798 | 31,284,466 | 501,839 | 31,786,305 | 1,635,396 | 75,470 | 1,710,866 | 33,497,171 |
| | | 249,540,345 | 8,819,082 | 258,360,027 | 26,994,794 | 6,339,797 | 33,334,591 | 291,694,618 |
| | Average | 35,648,706 | 1,259,868 | 36,908,575 | 3,856,399 | 905,685 | 4,762,084 | 41,670,659 |

# REPORT

OF TWO

# SPEECHES

DELIVERED BY THE

RT. HON. LORD VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH,

IN THE DEBATE ON THE

# *REGENCY BILL,*

ON APRIL 11th, 1799.

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1799.

# ADVERTISEMENT.

IT was hoped the Two Speeches delivered by Lord Viſcount Caſtlereagh in the debate on the Regency Bill would, before this, have been publiſhed by Authority and in a more perfect ſhape than they appeared in, in the News Papers. This however not having been done, the Editor thinks it his duty to give to the Publick, in ſomewhat of a more permanent form than that of a daily print, the moſt correct Report of his Lordſhip's Speeches which he has been able to procure, although he is ſenſible, it is but a very inadequate outline of what was actually delivered.

# HOUSE OF COMMONS,

THURSDAY APRIL 11th, 1799.

## *REGENCY BILL.*

THE Order for the Houſe going into Committee on the Regency Bill being read,

Lord CASTLEREAGH roſe. His Lordſhip ſaid, that when this Bill had been originally propoſed by the Right Hon. Member who introduced it, he had declared his intention not to oppoſe the meaſure, provided it ſtrictly followed the principle of the Act of Annexation, and if it remedied all the evils, which the principles adopted by the Houſe in 1789 had produced. On the ſecond reading of the Bill he had ſtated ſeveral of the inconveniencies which aroſe from our preſent ſituation, which would not only be continued, but

increaſed by any inadequate meaſure on the ſubject. He was now obliged to ſay, that if the bill was to be paſſed in its preſent form, the inconveniences and evils which he had enumerated would by no means be obviated, and that he therefore could not accept it as a cure for the evil it was intended to remedy. On arguing the preſent Bill he thought he ſhould not do himſelf juſtice, were he to confine himſelf ſtrictly within the limits of its proviſions: he would therefore advert, not merely to the preciſe object of the bill before the houſe, but would reſort to the principle from which it flowed; *that* principle was the danger which aroſe, and muſt for ever ariſe, from the poſſibility of two independent legiſlatures in the ſame empire adopting diſcordant meaſures on imperial queſtions. The Right Hon. Gentleman had adverted to one of the effects which reſulted from this principle, but had totally neglected the cauſe; it was his duty rather to apply to the cauſe, which was the ſource of numerous inconveniencies, which could alone be cured by its removal. The bill merely took up a ſingle point out of many which flowed from that *cauſe*; he would not enumerate them all; however they were all points of diviſion and ſeparation. But no man could overlook the danger which reſulted from two inde-

pendent

pendent legiſlatures in the great queſtions of peace, of war, of general trade and commerce, and of treaties with foreign nations, not to mention the difficulties which aroſe from the admiralty juriſdiction, and the great ſubject of our religious eſtabliſhment, which muſt be regulated on imperial principles. As to the firſt of theſe queſtions, (the queſtion of Peace and War) what was not to be apprehended on the ſubject, under our ſtate of ſeparate legiſlatures? How was it poſſible to conceive that the empire could continue as at preſent, whilſt all parts of it were to receive equal protection, and only one part of it to ſuffer the burdens of that protection? Muſt we not, of neceſſity and in juſtice, look to ſome ſettlement of imperial contribution? And ſo ſoon as a ſyſtem of contribution ſhould be eſtabliſhed, was there any queſtion as to peace and war, which would not agitate every part of the country? And ſhould we not be bound to conſider with ſcrupulouſneſs every imperial meaſure which might lead to the demand of contributions from the people? If the queſtion of peace and war was important at preſent, how much more intereſting would it become then! The ſubject would aſſume a new aſpect, every circumſtance of continental polities muſt be matter of our ſolicitude and come within our diſcuſſion.

Why

Why had we not differed from Great Britain in former wars? It was from this circumſtance, that Great Britain ſupported the whole expence, and wars were not in any degree expenſive to Ireland. Wars have recently increaſed in their expence enormouſly. Ireland as a ſeparate country, poſſeſſing all the advantages of the commerce and all the advantages of the protection of England, will naturally be bound to contribute her juſt proportion for the continuance of thoſe advantages. When that ſhall be the caſe, how can it be expected that ſhe will tamely follow Great Britain with that ſubmiſſion and ſubſerviency which has hitherto marked her conduct? If parliament were to conſent to ſuch humiliation, would they carry with them the public confidence? The feelings of the people muſt always be agitated in proportion to their intereſts; they would not eaſily be reconciled to have their contributions called forth to ſupport meaſures which their repreſentatives did not diſcuſs, nor would they ſuffer without jealouſy queſtions which affected their deareſt intereſts to be decided in a parliament in which they were not repreſented. What then is the ſecurity for the connexion of the two kingdoms? Is it the diſcretion of the Iriſh Parliament? No man had a higher reſpect than himſelf for their prudence, their liberality and their loyalty.

loyalty. But had not that diſcretion already failed in ſo remarkable an inſtance, as to prove that it was at beſt but a bad ſecurity? It was againſt the principle of human nature that one country ſhould voluntarily and regularly follow the dictates of another; it was againſt the common principles of pride and independence, which muſt ever grow and increaſe with the importance of the kingdom. In proportion therefore to our wealth and ſtrength, the principle of diſcretion would be weakened, and the ſole ſecurity for the continuance of our connexion would vaniſh. His Lordſhip after theſe general obſervations reverted to the bill before the houſe: He ſaid the bill certainly went to enact that the regal power of the two kingdoms ſhould reſide in the ſame perſon: But how did it ſecure that end? The Crown had at preſent an undoubted prerogative of appointing a regency in certain caſes; whereas the bill, as it was framed, entirely deſtroyed that prerogative. The bill was alſo ſo drawn, that if it paſſed in its preſent form, the regent of Great Britain could not appoint a Lord Lieutenant, for the regent would be merely a deputy, and no deputy could appoint a deputy. If ſuch was the objection to the frame, there were greater objections to the ſubſtance, of the bill. If it were

complete

complete as to the *perſon* who ſhould be regent; it did not define his *power*, which might be of equal conſequence. The competency and propriety of parliament limiting the powers of the regent had been fully eſtabliſhed in the Britiſh parliament. But how was that principle applied in the bill? The proviſo enacted that the regent of Ireland ſhould be ſubject to the ſame reſtrictions as the regent of England. Here the right hon. gentleman gave up the ſupremacy of the Iriſh legiſlature, and transferred to the parliament of England the right of impoſing reſtrictions on the regent of Ireland, but he gave up this right in the moſt abſurd manner imaginable. He gives the parliament of Great Britain a right to form reſtrictions for our regent, but does not allow them to conſider the applicability of thoſe reſtrictions; he makes the reſtrictions impoſed on the regent of Great Britain attach, right or wrong, on the regent of Ireland; and forgetting that what is expedient in one country may be inexpedient in another, he makes the ſame regulations fortuitouſly attach to different governments, differently conſtituted and differently circumſtanced. Certainly the queſtion of reſtrictions cannot be avoided; but by whom are they to be impoſed? There were only three methods; firſt by the parliament of Great Britain; ſecond by the parliament of Ireland; third, by trea-

ty.

ty. If the laſt were to be reſorted to, he feared the effort would be vain and futile; and as in the caſe of the commercial propoſitions, the queſtion of policy would be ſacrificed to the difficulty of ſettling the queſtion of authority. If the power were to be given to the parliament of Great Britain, he then fully admitted that ſuch a proviſion would meet the difficulties of the caſe, but this could not be accompliſhed without a ſurrender of the ſupremacy of the Iriſh Parliament. But if the reſtrictions were to be impoſed by the Iriſh parliament, in that caſe nothing was done, the queſtion would be ſtill afloat, would be open to every poſſible cavil, and ſubject as much as ever to the influence of faction and cabal. His Lordſhip proceeded to ſay, that our connexion with England chiefly depended on the prerogatives of the crown of both kingdoms being exerciſed under the controul of one imperial cabinet. He would then ſuppoſe a caſe, which was eaſy to be imagined and natural to occur, that the Engliſh parliament ſhould delegate the royal authority to a perſon of whoſe principles and councils the Iriſh parliament was jealous. Ireland would be bound to adopt this individual as their regent. Although the nomination of the perſon was by this bill placed out of their power, the right of reſtraining his authority would be in their power. How would the Iriſh parliament naturally proceed

to

to reſtrain him? might they not require that his prerogatives ſhould be exerciſed by the advice and under the controul of an Iriſh council reſponſible to the Iriſh parliament alone? A Lord Lieutenant is now controuled by the Britiſh crown, and the Britiſh cabinet; he would be then controuled by an Iriſh cabinet; and inſtead of one general executive for the whole empire, we ſhould have two executives, as well as two legiſlatures; and be ſubjected to the effects which muſt unavoidably reſult from diſtinct governments. His lordſhip then argued, that the only mode of ſettling the queſtion was by diſtinctly ſurrendering to the Britiſh parliament the whole authority on this point. And if the right hon. gentleman was prepared to follow up the Act of Annexation, and to enact, that the power which created the crown of Ireland and limited its ſucceſſion, ſhould be competent to regulate the queſtion of regency in all caſes, he would then ſet the queſtion at reſt; if he ſtopped ſhort of *that*, he would be doing nothing. His lordſhip aſked, whence did the difficulty on this and ſimilar queſtions ariſe? Was it not from the final ſettlement, as it was called, of 1782? Antecedent to that period, the parliament of this kingdom was in the habit of ſubmitting to the parliament of another country, and *that* parliament was allowed a general ſuperintendence

intendence in all cases of imperial legislation. Since that period, the parliament of Ireland would not suffer any other authority to interfere in the concerns of this kingdom, and hence all the inconveniences and dangers had arisen which he had stated. He was however surprised, that any man should call the measure of 1782 a final adjustment between the countries, which went but to one principle, and set afloat every other. He called the house to look at the weakness of the measure itself, which from every subsequent event to the present day, had shewn itself to be entirely inadequate to adjust the questions which disturbed the empire; he called on the house to look to the resolutions of the British parliament, which declared *that* settlement not to be final; and he called on them to advert to the expressions of those ministers who had framed that settlement. His lordship here stated Mr. Fox's sentiments from his speech on the commercial propositions in 1785, as follows:

"JULY 22, 1785.

"Mr. Fox, (speaking of the settlement of 1782,) "declared, that no idea of a commercial regulation "had been entertained by administration of that day, "in proposing that resolution. There were, he said, "at that time certainly some regulations wanting be-

" tween the two countries, but thoſe regulations " were to extend to political objects alone, and not to " commercial; they went partly to eſtabliſh what " was much wanted, ſomething to replace that " power, which, in their ſtruggles for independence, " the Iriſh had imprudently inſiſted on having abo- " liſhed; and which he had himſelf given up, in " compliance with the ſtrong current of the preju- " dices of that nation, though with a reluctance " that nothing but irreſiſtible neceſſity could have " overcome. The power which he wiſhed to have " ſeen replaced, was that which had been ſo often " of late under diſcuſſion in parliament, and which " had been variouſly termed, being ſometimes " called commercial, at other times external, and " frequently imperial legiſlation, that power being " precipitately aboliſhed, that ſome ſuccedaneum " ſhould be found for it; for without one general " and ſuperintending authority to embrace and " comprehend the whole ſyſtem of the navigation of " the empire, it muſt neceſſarily happen that much " confuſion and great inconvenience would take " place."

" When he had ſaid, that he had regretted hav- " ing given it the power of external legiſlation, as " likely

" likely to prejudice the general intereſts of the em-
" pire, and therefore neceſſary to be replaced, he
" deſired not to be underſtood as meaning to ſeek for
" it again; what he meant was, to find ſome ſyſtem,
" that without reclaiming the power, or infringing
" in the ſmalleſt degree on the full emancipation and
" independence formally conceded to Ireland,
" ſhould afford the means of avoiding that confu-
" ſion which was otherwiſe ſo much to be
" dreaded."

His Lordſhip ſaid he did not argue from theſe words however ſtrong and impreſſive, that Mr. Fox had a legiſlative union in contemplation in 1782, but he evidently wanted ſome permanent principle of connexion as a ſubſtitute for what he had ſurrendered. Mr. Fox was probably not able at that period to look a legiſlative union in the face; he was obliged to go in ſearch of ſome meaſure of correſponding force, if it could be found, but he ſearched in vain. It was ridiculous to conſider the ſettlement of 1782 as final, becauſe it was ſo ſtated in the Addreſs of the time; we muſt judge of a meaſure from its ſpirit, not from its words; from its principles and effects, not from the language in which it may be cloathed; and from the

known and declared intention of its framers, not from the mere phraſe in which it may happen to be expreſſed. His Lordſhip then concluded that there was no alternative but to remain ſubject to the preſent evil, or to embrace the whole remedy. Let not gentlemen flatter themſelves that by applying half-meaſures the danger of ſeparation could be cured; the principles of the bill of annexation might bear us out in ſurrendering our legiſlative independence to Great Britain in the caſe of a Regency; but the ſpirit of the country would not bear it in others. Such a conduct was full of delicacy, and it was big with danger; it involved the principle of intruſting power without repreſentation, a principle which had produced the loſs of America, and was incompatible with the Britiſh Conſtitution. He would therefore acquieſce in the Right Hon. Gentleman's bill, if made adequate and effectual; but he ſhould be criminal if he were to blindfold the people on the ſubject, by ſubmitting to half-meaſures; and as in the whole it was but a feeble attempt to cure a general evil by a partial remedy, he did not think it his duty to make himſelf reſponſible for its effects, although he might not oppoſe it. If it ſhould be made adequate to its object

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in the committee, he would not afterwards resist it; if it should remain inadequate, he would not disgrace himself by supporting it.

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The Right Honourable the Speaker having in the Committee delivered the Speech, which has been since published,

Lord CASTLEREAGH rose in reply. His Lordship said, that he had been highly gratified by the opportunity which had been offered to the Right Hon. Gentleman to state at large his sentiments upon the question of UNION; that he had no doubt if an opportunity had presented itself, he would have availed himself of his privilege at an earlier period; and certainly the Right Hon. Gentleman, in entering so much at large into the subject, had merely done credit to himself, to the situation which he filled, and the opposition which he had professed. He felt the utmost diffidence in replying to the speech of the Right Hon. Gentleman, as he fully acknowledged the great superiority of his experience and abilities; and he lamented that it

was

was impoſſible for him to enter into all the numerous topicks and details, which his power of condenſation had enabled him to compreſs together. He ſhould be happy, however, could he at any time be enabled to conſider and meet them article by article: for he felt that every thing which he had advanced was ſo capable of refutation, that the reſult of what he heard was to impreſs upon his mind more ſtrongly than ever, that the exiſtence of this country depended upon a Legiſlative Union with Great Britain. He would firſt advert to the inſinuation made by the Speaker, that he had declared that private opinions were more to be relied upon than records of Parliament. This was not his argument; he had ſtated that parliamentary documents were to be explained according to their ſpirit, tendency and effect, more than according to their words; and that the beſt teſtimony, as to the intent and meaning of a meaſure, was the declaration of the Miniſters who framed it. It was on this principle he had quoted the ſpeech of Mr. Fox. The Speaker could not pretend to inſinuate that Mr. Fox was not Miniſter in 1782, much leſs could he inſinuate that he did not know his own intentions at that period. As to the ſettlement of 1782, ſo much contended to be final, he had ſtated it himſelf to be ſo, as to the points of grievance then

brought

brought forward;—It was undoubtedly final, as to the ſubſerviency of the Iriſh to the Britiſh Legiſlature; but as to all other queſtions of intercourſe, of policy, of reciprocal benefit and advantage between the two kingdoms it could not be final; it was not ſo in its nature, it had been proved not to be ſo from its conſequences, and it was the height of abſurdity to argue that it was. Does the Right Hon. Gentleman think that the two ſeparate legiſlatures can keep the countries connected by the mere principle of their independency; or that in itſelf and in its nature the principle of independency is a meaſure of connexion? No, Sir, the two kingdoms are at preſent kept together by the feelings of the people, and not by the adjuſtment of 1782, which is totally inadequate. But the Right Hon. Gentleman relies on the great Seal of England.—Will the great Seal keep down the jealouſy of the people of Ireland? Will the great Seal deſtroy French principles? Will the great Seal deſtroy that ſeparation and diſtinctneſs of intereſts upon which the enemies of the empire erect their hopes of dividing the iſlands? But it was ſaid this ſettlement of 1782 had kept the country in peace until its tranquillity was diſturbed by Mr. Pitt's raſhneſs in introducing the queſtion of an Union. He appealed to the Houſe if that was a fair and candid

did ſtatement of the caſe?—was that a ſtatement which became the Right Hon. Gentleman? He wiſhed not to exaggerate the diſtreſſes of the country: he wiſhed not to expatiate on the diſtractions by which ſhe was convulſed; it was not a ſtate of peace, it was not a ſtate of tranquillity which Mr. Pitt had endeavoured to diſturb, but it was the ſtate of our miſeries and diſtractions to which Mr. Pitt was ready to ſacrifice his own peace, in the hope of finding a remedy. But when the Right Hon. Gentleman accuſes Mr. Pitt's raſhneſs as the cauſe of the diſturbances of Ireland, what was his own conduct? Was that calculated to allay the heats, and cool the animoſities of the country? or did not he and his friends exert themſelves in inflaming the minds of the people? When the queſtion of Union was firſt mentioned, did not he uſe all his influence to prevent its being diſcuſſed at all, as a queſtion not to be admitted? and when the Government conſented not to preſs the ſubject, but to leave it till the temper of Parliament ſhould change, did not he and his friends preſs for immediate diſcuſſion, in order to keep up the flame they had created? The Right Hon. Gentleman had complained of the language uſed in another houſe by Mr. Pitt, and of his own ſpeech being garbled by order of Government; what was the truth on the latter

point?

point? So ſoon as Mr. Pitt's ſpeech was ſuppoſed to have arrived, there was a natural curioſity in the public to read it; he therefore had ſent a friend with the firſt copy he had received to a printer, to which copy a curtailed report of the Speaker's ſpeech in 1785 was annexed. As ſoon as he heard that this ſpeech was not a juſt ſtatement, he deſired *that* ſtatement to be ſubſtituted, which the Speaker himſelf ſhould approve; and it was done accordingly. As to Mr. Pitt's taking advantage of the Speaker's opinion in 1785, was it not acknowledged that the opinions of great men on great ſubjects, when truly quoted, have great weight and may be fairly adduced? and was there one point in which Mr. Pitt had miſrepreſented him? But if this conduct was not candid in Mr. Pitt, did not the Speaker himſelf commence the attack?—What were the inſinuations in his anſwer to the freeholders of Louth? Did he not ſtate that the ſettlement in 1782 was a final ſettlement on all conſtitutional queſtions, and did he not then inſinuate that Mr. Pitt in propoſing an Union was breaking that ſettlement, was infringing a compact, and violating the faith of Great Britain, ſolemnly pledged to Ireland? and would not Mr. Pitt have been deficient in his duty to himſelf and the public, if he had not vindicated his conduct from ſo foul an aſperſion? and had not Mr. Pitt a

right to defend himſelf if poſſible by the authority of his accuſer, and to reſent the accuſation? Did Mr. Pitt in his defence quote the Right Hon. Gentleman untruly, or did he make any uncandid inference from his ſpeeches? He quoted the Right Hon. Gentleman to have ſaid, "Things cannot remain as "they are, commercial jealouſy is rouſed, it will "increaſe with two independent legiſlatures, and "without one united intereſt in commerce in a "commercial empire, political Union will receive "many ſhocks; and ſeparation of intereſt will oc-"caſion ſeparation of connexion, which every honeſt "Iriſhman muſt ſhudder to look at as poſſible."

Did Mr. Pitt argue from this paſſage that the Speaker was an advocate for a Legiſlative Union? No, but he ſhewed from it that the Speaker confeſſed that danger was to be apprehended from the colliſion of ſeparate legiſlatures, which in their very nature were vehicles of jealouſy and inſtruments of ſeparation. Mr. Pitt quoted the paſſage he ſtated from the Right Hon. Gentleman's ſpeech on the Commercial Propoſitions, which were conſidered by him as fraught with the greateſt poſſible advantages for Ireland. That meaſure however failed; and what was it that produced its failure? Jealouſy, not of a commercial but political nature: it failed

becauſe

becauſe an high-minded nation like ours will be more rouſed by queſtions of political authority, than commercial advantage. But had not the Speaker made a further attack on Mr. Pitt? in his anſwer to the reſolutions of the county of Louth, had he not ſtated that, "The ſurrender of our ſeparate legiſla-"ture would deſtroy the ſecurity of our trade, and "render our advantages precarious; that our com-"merce could not be benefited but, might decreaſe, "by an Union?" Was not then Mr. Pitt called upon to diſprove theſe aſſertions by the Speaker's words in 1785, viz. that "*without an united inte-*"*reſt in commerce political Union would receive many*"*ſhocks*;" and to ſhow from theſe words that the Britiſh miniſter was called upon to inſure that connexion on which the advantages of Ireland depended: and which (Ireland having declined a compact) could only be ſecured by an Union? When alſo the Speaker had ſtated that the linen trade depended ſolely on the bounties and protection of the Iriſh Parliament, had not Mr. Pitt a right to prove that the proſperity of this trade depends not on the Iriſh bounties, but on the bounties and duties impoſed by the Britiſh Parliament? Let it here be recollected that Mr. Pitt was merely repelling an attack, and that the Right Hon. Gentleman had ſtruck the firſt blow. But how did the Rt. Hon. Gentleman miſtate Mr. Pitt in talking of

the principle of contribution, and how had he misrepreſented Mr. Pitt? He ſtated that Mr. Pitt's ſole object was to lay his hands upon the purſe of Ireland, whereas the reſolutions produced by Mr. Pitt prove diametrically the reverſe! But does the Right Hon. Gentleman contend that we are not to purſue a liberal ſyſtem towards Great Britain? Does he mean to argue that the expence of Imperial protection is to fall on the ſhoulders of one member of the empire alone, and that the other is to take no ſhare of the burden? Is that the Hon. Gentleman's argument? Is that the principle of connexion which he means to eſtabliſh? I ſtated Sir, that if the preſent principles of connexion remain, they muſt be followed up by contribution; I ſhewed the danger to the connexion under that circumſtance; and in order to get rid of my argument, it muſt be contended that Ireland muſt ever remain ſeparate, muſt ever be protected by England, and muſt never contribute to the empire at all. How has the Right Hon. Gentleman miſrepreſented Mr. Pitt, by ſtating that he menaced this country with hoſtility, if we did not embrace an Union; when the whole tendency of Mr. Pitt's ſpeech is to ſhew, that an Union by force would be ruinous, and that it can only be founded on the inclinations of the people? The ſtatement of Mr. Pitt, which has been ſtated as a

menace,

menace, was neceſſarily brought forward to obviate the aſſertions of the Hon. Gentleman, that our trade was owing ſolely to the independence of the Iriſh Parliament. If Mr. Pitt has ſhewn that the trade, and particularly the linen trade depended not on the Iriſh but the Britiſh Legiſlature, he was forced into the proof by the Right Hon. Gentleman.

The Right Hon. Gentleman had entered at length into a laborious detail upon the commerce of Ireland, and he certainly acknowledged his ſuperiority on ſuch ſubjects; at the ſame time he muſt contend that the commerce of this kingdom was more dependent on England than the commerce of England upon Ireland. He would conſider this part of the ſubject in three points of view; firſt, our commerce with foreign nations, in which we were totally free; ſecondly, our colonial commerce, which was a boon from Great Britain; thirdly, our channel trade with Great Britain, which was regulated between the two countries on principles highly advantageous to Ireland.

What was the ſtate of our foreign commerce? On an average of three years of peace previous to 1793,—our exports to foreign nations were 357,324l.—our imports 943,187l. ſo that there was a balance

a balance againſt us of 485,863l. per annum. In the average of three years of war to 1797, our exports to foreign nations amounted in value to 239,796l. and our imports to 783,535l. ſo that the balance againſt us was 498,739l. a year.

With regard to our colonial trade, which Ireland enjoys not of right, but of favour from Great Britain, and upon the ſame regulations as Britiſh ſubjects, our average exports to the Britiſh colonies for three years of peace ending 1793, amounted in value to 622,034l., our imports to 465,271l.—of courſe we had an annual balance in our favour of 156,763l.—Again, in the three years of war, to 1797, our average exports to the colonies were 708,846l., and our imports 388,272l.—which, conſequently gives a balance annually in our favour of 320,574l.

But what are the circumſtances of the channel trade? The total value of the exports, generally from this country to Great Britain is 5,612,689l, and the total value of all Britiſh exports to Ireland, is 3,554,845l.—which gives a balance in our favour of 2,056,844l.—Again, the yearly value of Iriſh manufacture imported into England is, 5,510,825l. while the value of Engliſh manufacture exported annually

annually to Ireland is only 2,087,672l., conſequently the balance in our favour, upon the actual produce and manufacture of the countries is 3,425,153l.

His Lordſhip next called the attention of the Houſe to the regulations of the tariffe between the two countries—every one of which was highly favourable to Ireland. He obſerved that on the whole of the imports into Great Britain from Ireland, valued as he had already ſtated at 5,618,689l. per annum, Great Britain only raiſes a revenue of 47,562l. whereas Ireland on the imports from Great Britain—amounting to 3,554,845l. raiſes a large revenue of 648,138l. per annum; beſides receiving from Great Britain, duty free, the important articles of hops, coal, tan, and bark.

His Lordſhip further obſerved, that the trade of Great Britain with Ireland, forms only 1-9th of the groſs commerce of Great Britain, whereas the trade of Ireland with Great Britain forms about 9-10ths of the groſs commerce of Ireland. The imports from Ireland form about 1-8th of the whole imports into Great Britain, and the cuſtoms raiſed on them form not the 130th part of the cuſtoms of Great Britain. Again, in our trade

with

with foreign nations, we incur a loſs of little leſs than 500,000l. per annum, while we gain on our trade with the Britiſh colonies, near 400,000l. and on our trade with Great Britain, 2,056,844l. On the whole then, if England loſt her trade with Ireland, ſhe would loſe only 1-9th of her trade. But if Ireland loſt her trade with Great Britain, ſhe would loſe 9-10ths of her trade.

Lord Caſtlereagh next adverted to the aſſertion of the Speaker, that if Great Britain denied her market to Ireland, ſhe could reſort to the colonies of other countries, and could find vent for her manufactures in Spain, in Portugal, and the Eaſt Indies. To theſe aſſertions he would not oppoſe any arguments of his own, but would read to the Committee the arguments of the Right Hon. Gentleman himſelf in 1785, which contained a fuller refutation, and came with higher authority than any ſtatement he could produce.

"The Honourable Gentleman" (meaning Mr. Flood) "ſeems, with others, to undervalue "the Britiſh markets for our linens, and that "if Britain ſhall diſcourage her import, they will "find vent elſewhere. I will not pay him ſo ful- "ſome a compliment as to ſay he underſtands com- "merce, his genius ſoars perhaps above ſuch reading;

"but

" but if he did underſtand it, I would aſk him,
" where would he expect a market to favour the
" linens of Ireland? Where will he find a market
" under Heaven for that manufacture, which now
" brings two millions annually into the kingdom?
" Will Portugal take them? Will Spain take them?
" Will France take them? No; we know they
" will not. Will Ruſſia, Germany, or Holland
" take them? They are your powerful rivals, and
" able to underſell you. Where then will you find a
" market, if England ſhuts her ports? Will you go
" to the Weſt Indies? You cannot go to the Engliſh
" colonies; they will be like Britain, there you can
" have no admittance.—The French, Spaniſh, and
" Portugueſe have ſhut their ports long ſince; your
" only market then is in the BANKRUPT States of
" North America, that have not money to pay their
" juſt debts, and many provinces of which, if they
" had the money, have not perhaps the honeſty to
" do it.

" This bankrupt country is to give you the mar-
" ket Britain affords. No, no; cheriſh the market
" you have, you will never get ſo good; ſhe ever
" exports with bounty for you. And here let me ob-
" ſerve the benefits of exporting, duty free, all our
" fabrics through her ports, which this ſettlement
" ſecures. You found the way for your linens to

" foreign places through her ports, by her capitals " and extent of dealing; do not refuſe the like for " your other fabrics—the proſperity of the linens " ſhould teach you."

His Lordſhip having remarked on the force of this quotation, next called the attention of the Committee to the Speaker's general repreſentations that this country was not dependent on its connection with Great Britain for our linen trade, and that the lowering of the duties which exiſted in the trade between the two kingdoms would not be beneficial to Ireland. On the firſt point he read the following extract;

" The Hon. Gentleman complains of the report of " the Engliſh Privy Councils, which ſay that to put " Ireland and England on a footing of exact recipro- " city as to linens, Ireland ought to give a bounty on " the exportation of Engliſh linens, becauſe England " gives a bounty on the exportation of Iriſh linens. " Can any thing be more juſt? Yet England makes " no ſuch demand, but is ready by this adjuſtment " to give additional ſecurity to our linen trade for " ever. If indeed the adjuſtment were to take away " the benefits from Ireland, it would be a good cauſe " for rejecting it; but as it for ever confirms all the

" advantages

" advantages we derive from our linen trade, and " binds England from making any law that can be " injurious to it; ſurely Gentlemen that regard that " trade, and whoſe fortunes and rent depend on its " proſperity, will not entertain a moment's doubt " about embracing the offer."

As to the point of lowering duties he, quoted the Speaker's opinion, expreſſed in 1785, in the following terms:

" Were a man to look for the country moſt ad- " vantageous to ſettle manufactures in, what would be " his choice? One where labour and proviſions are " cheap, that is Ireland; and what he would next look " for?—why to have a rich, extended and ſteady " market near him, which England, ſtretched along- " ſide affords, and to eſtabliſh that market for this " country is one great object of this ſyſtem. Gentle- " men undervalue the reduction of Britiſh duties on " our manufactures; I agree with them it may not " operate ſoon, but we are to look forward in a final " ſettlement, and it is impoſſible but that in time, " with as good climate, equal natural powers, cheaper " food, and fewer taxes, we muſt be able to ſell to " them. When commercial jealouſy ſhall be baniſhed " by final ſettlement, and trade take its natural and

" ſteady courſe, the kingdoms will ceaſe to look to
" rivalſhip; each will make that fabric which it can
" do cheapeſt, and buy from the other what it cannot
" make ſo advantageouſly. Labour will be then truly
" employed to profit, not diverted by duties, boun-
" ties, jealouſies or legiſlative interference from its
" natural and beneficial courſe; this ſyſtem will attain
" its real object, conſolidating the ſtrength of the re-
" maining parts of the Empire, by encouraging the
" communications of their market among themſelves,
" with preference to every part againſt all ſtrangers."

Having ſhortly commented upon theſe extracts, by which he conceived the Speaker to be ſelf-confuted, his Lordſhip next adverted to what the Speaker had aſſerted as to the linen trade. He ſtated that on an average of ſeven years, the number of yards exported were,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| To Great Britain | - | 35,648,706 |
| To the Britiſh colonies | - | 1,259,868 |
| | Total | 36,998,574 |
| To foreign countries | - | 4,762,084 |
| | Total | 41,760,658 |

He ſtated the value of linen exported to England for 7 years, taking in cambrick and linen yarn, and eſtimating

eſtimating Iriſh linen at 1s. 10d. per yard, which is higher than the cuſtom valuation, but nearer the truth it amounted to 3,153,868l. He then ſhewed the advantage which we derived by the Britiſh duties of 37 per cent. on foreign linens, and the ſacrifice which Great Britain made to give us the advantage of her markets. The value of Iriſh linens conſumed in Great Britain for 7 years, at 1s. 10d. per yard, was 3,038,630l.—A duty of 37 per cent. in this ſum would amount to 1,124,293l. So that the people of Great Britain, in one view of the ſubject, pay dearer for their linens than they need, by upwards of one million ſterling a year, or, in another view of the ſubject, ſuffer duties of one million a year to be impoſed on their own people, which would otherwiſe be raiſed on the manufactures of Ireland. Or if the Iriſh manufacture could not come into competition, under ſuch a duty with the foreign fabrick, it would be raiſed on the foreign to the excluſion of the Iriſh linens. But were Iriſh linens ſubject to the ſame duty as foreign linens, viz. 37l. per cent. they would be totally excluded from the Britiſh market. The quantity now furniſhed by Ireland would be ſupplied from abroad, from which Great Britain would levy a duty of 1,124,293l. which ſhe now loſes by the favour ſhewn to Iriſh linens in admitting them duty free to her market. That this would be the caſe appears clearly from the fact that

16,000,000

16,000,000 yards of foreign linen found their way into Great Britain in the courſe of the laſt year, notwithſtanding the heavy duty to which they were liable, which proves that our linen could in no degree enter into a competition with foreign linen in the Britiſh market, and that we owe the command which we have of that market to the liberality of Great Britain, a liberality which ſhe extends to us at the expence of above a million ſterling a year; or in other words, we owe it to the bounty of the Britiſh Parliament, and not to the ſupport of the Iriſh Legiſlature.

But it was ſaid that the linen manufacture was to be encouraged by Great Britain, on a compact that Ireland ſhould relinquiſh the woollen trade. The value of Engliſh woollens imported by Ireland was for three years ending 1793, 599,350l. The value of the average for three years to 1796, was 674,000l. At the ſame period the value of our linens exported to Gt. Britain was above 3,000,000l.; and was that a compact on the juſtice or equity of which any reaſonable man would rely, when the actual loſs to Great Britain on linens was nearly double the total value of the woollens imported into Ireland? He ſaid it was curious to hear the arguments of the Right Hon. Gentleman as to woollens and fuel. Firſt, he ſays we never can have an extenſive

tenſive woollen trade, although he ſtates that we had an extenſive trade in woollens about 100 years ago; then he argues the reſult of our want of fuel, yet he ſtates that we are not dependent on England, though England ſupplies us withfuel duty free. In anſwer to the argument of the Speaker that no Engliſh capital had arrived in conſequence of our free trade, his Lordſhip ſtated that this was attributable to the nature of our ſeparate legiſlatures and the danger of ſeparation; but that as ſoon as there was one government and one law for the whole empire, Britiſh capital would naturally circulate in every part, when the means for employing and the ſecurity for improving it became general. He greatly lamented one part of the ſpeech of the Right Hon. Gentleman, in which he alluded to the poſſible ſeparation of the two countries, and the poſſibility of Ireland exiſting at leaſt commercially, if not politically, without Great Britain. The Right Hon. Gentleman had ever profeſſed himſelf a friend to the connexion of the two countries; it ſeemed to be inconſiſtent with all his former conduct, and was calculated to create impreſſions which might have an effect he could never intend. But one of the great arguments of the Speaker was, that the Union would diminiſh the ſecurities for the bounties on agriculture; what was the obvious anſwer to ſuch an inſinuation,

ation, but that the terms of the Union might render it impoſſible? but if the ſubject were to be left open, might not a time ariſe when a diſcontinuance of bounties throughout the Empire generally would be a benefit? and if the arrangement of them were left to an Imperial Legiſlature, could the Hon. Gentleman aſſert it would not be ſafe in their diſcretion? or would he contend that the legiſlature of any empire could have an intereſt to impoveriſh one part of its dominions for the aggrandiſement of another? Was it not a dereliction of ſenſe and a proſtitution of talents to advance ſuch an argument? Another leading argument had been relied upon, that no Union could give ſecurity that it would not be infringed; and the income tax had been tortured into a proof that the terms of the Scotch Union had been violated. The feebleneſs of this argument had been long expoſed. The malt tax in Scotland had alſo been adduced as an inſtance; but ſo ſoon as it was examined, this inſtance was found untenable. But now the income tax was brought forward, and in order to apply it to the preſent purpoſe it was ſtated to be a land tax, and conſequently a breach of the articles of an Union. This however was notoriouſly not the caſe; It was made an expreſs article of Union that Scotland ſhould be ſubjected to the general taxes of the empire. How, therefore, a tax upon general income

come could be twiſted into a freſh and increaſed land tax, he could not conceive; it was no more a tax upon land, than a tax upon any article of conſumption which was purchaſed by the income ariſing out of land, was a tax upon land. But the ſecurity of the Scotch Union did not reſt upon the conſtruction of any little article, it reſted upon the ſecurity of a greater principle: it reſted upon this ſecurity, that no Miniſter, no Parliament would be guilty of ſuch madneſs as for any paltry conſideration of profit or taxation to riſque the happineſs and connexion of the whole empire in a manner which would excite reſiſtance and juſtify ſeparation. He could have wiſhed the Speaker had been ſilent reſpecting the competency of Parliament. He had ſeen ſome obſervations in the reſolutions of the County of Louth, intimating a recurrence to firſt principles, which he could not too much reprobate, and had admired the diſcretion of the Right Hon. Gentleman in paſſing them without notice. He wiſhed he had obſerved the ſame diſcretion now. He conceived the principle of the competency of parliament was defined by the right of parliament to conſult in every caſe the good and the happineſs of the people, and that no man could queſtion its competency, who either knew or valued the conſtitution. But if ever ſuch a principle as the incompetency of parliament ſhould be ſet up, there were few caſes to

which it might not apply; it would be uſed by every enemy to the conſtitution, and fall like a firebrand among the people. His Lordſhip ſaid he would advert only to one argument more, which was, the imputation which had been made on thoſe ſpeeches which had ſtated our religious diſſenſions. It was uncandidly inſinuated that the object of thoſe ſpeeches was to encreaſe our religious animoſities. Their object was to ſhew that whilſt Ireland adhered to a ſeparate legiſlature, we could not act leſs on a principle of religious jealouſy than we did; but that if United, our parliament, with the legiſlature of Great Britain, could act upon a more liberal ſyſtem of policy with entire ſecurity. His Lordſhip concluded by returning his thanks to the Committee for their attention, and ſaying that at ſo late an hour he would not detain them with further obſervations.

FINIS.

AN

# ARGUMENT

ADDRESSED TO THE

# YEOMANRY OF IRELAND,

DEMONSTRATING

THE RIGHT, THE PROPRIETY, THE UTILITY,

AND

THE OBLIGATION

OF DECLARING THEIR SENTIMENTS ON

POLITICAL SUBJECTS,

IN THEIR PUBLIC DISTINCTIVE CHARACTER OF

*YEOMEN.*

BY EUNOMUS.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY J. STOCKDALE, 62, ABBEY-STREET,
NEAR CARLISLE-BRIDGE.

1800.

AN

# ARGUMENT, &c.

THE right of self-preservation is inherent in man, independent of positive institutions, and inalienable. This right comprehends not only the right of preserving life, but also of preserving every thing, which reason prescribes as necessary to the true enjoyment of life. In other words, the right of self-preservation, when applied to a moral agent, is a right to the free exercise of every power natural and moral essential to the happiness of such a being. Civil society is a voluntary union of men formed for the sole purpose of securing more effectually the enjoyment of this right, an association, to which they are led by sympathy and by reason, as the best means of accomplishing a lawful end. Every abstract right involves the right of practical attainment. That is, if any end is lawful, every means of attaining the end, which does not interfere with a more general end, is also lawful. The general end of the actions of every creature is the happiness suitable to its nature. The happiness of man consists

in virtue, or in right moral conduct. Morality muſt always be conſiſtent with itſelf. Hence an end, however good, can never juſtify immoral means of attainment. But with this ſingle limitation, a right to any object eſſentially implies a right to purſue the moſt effectual means of acquiring, and ſecuring, that object. A right to happineſs without a right to the beſt means of practical enjoyment is a manifeſt contradiction, which, to uſe the words of Junius, cannot be conceived without a confuſion of ideas, nor expreſſed without a ſoleciſm in language.

God has created man a moral agent, he has therefore created him with freedom of will, and man can no more renounce his freedom of will than he can renounce his nature. Man cannot become a ſlave without a crime, without counteracting the deſigns of Providence, by changing the moral agent into the brute. Hence no civil inſtitution can be rightfully formed, which is not conformable to this freedom of will. Compact may confer rights and create duties in matters of indifference. But no compact can abrogate moral relations, or add additional force to moral obligations. The moral relation and the moral obligation are antecedent to, and independent of, all poſitive inſtitutions. It is therefore nonſenſe to ſay that a people has a right to liberty by compact, and that, when the ſovereign power violates the compact, the people is abſolved from obedience. Man has a right to liberty, becauſe he is man — becauſe God has formed him a moral agent, with certain powers and affections, leading to a certain end, to the proper exerciſe and enjoyment of which

liberty of thought and of action is eſſential, a liberty, which human contrivance can neither give nor take away.

Does civil government then confer no rights, impoſe no duties? In matters morally indifferent, many. In matters morally good or bad, not one. With reſpect to theſe latter then, is civil government of no uſe? Of the greateſt uſe. It is a contrivance for giving effect to natural rights. And the only rational meaning of a compact between the people and the ſovereign power in any civil ſociety, is, that the people has inſtituted certain auxiliary means of purſuing the end of human action, which, at the time, ſeemed beſt calculated for the purpoſe. And, therefore, tho' the ſovereign power ſhould undeviatingly perform its part of the means thus deviſed, that is, ſhould honeſtly perform its part of the compact, whenever reaſon and experience demonſtrate that the means already deviſed, or in other words, the form of government, are inſufficient to the end propoſed; and better means preſent themſelves, the people poſſeſſes the very ſame right of eſtabliſhing other means or of forming a new government, which it originally poſſeſſed of eſtabliſhing any—a right eſſentially flowing from the laws of nature, and altogether independent of the conduct of the ſovereign power.

Is there then no difference between the caſes, where the ſovereign power violates the compact, and where it acts conformably to it, but the compact is found inſufficient to the purpoſe of its inſtitution? A vaſt difference with reſpect to thoſe exerciſing the ſovereign power—no difference with reſpect to the people.

Where

Where the terms of the truſt repoſed in the ſovereign power are found inadequate to the end, or, in other words, where the conſtitution of the government is bad, but there has been no delinquency in the truſtees, the people has a right to change the terms of the truſt, but not to puniſh the truſtees. Where the truſt has been merely violated, the people has a right to depoſe and to puniſh. Where both circumſtances exiſt together, the people has a right to new model the conſtitution of the truſt, and to depoſe and puniſh the men, who dared to violate the principles even of a bad one.

From theſe obvious and important truths, it ſeems inconteſtibly to follow, that Liberty, with every means neceſſary to its attainment and ſecurity, is the birthright of man, eſſential to his nature, independent of, and inalienable by his contract. Liberty is the power of purſuing happineſs agreeably to our nature—of doing good to ourſelves without doing injury to others—of exerciſing our faculties natural and moral, as moral accountable beings. The enjoyment of this liberty can be the only legitimate object of civil government. The right to Liberty is included in the right of ſelf-preſervation. The right of ſelf-preſervation in a rational, moral being, is not the right of mere animal exiſtence alone, it is a right to the uncontrouled exertion of every attribute, which, in ſuch a being, can render exiſtence the bleſſing, which Providence intended—to the uncontrouled exertion of every power of the underſtanding, and every impulſe of the heart, which is not forbidden by reaſon, conſcience, and religion—to the uncontrouled exertion of

every

every faculty, which can exalt the man above the brute; the freeman above the ſlave.

Men enter into ſociety, and conſtitute civil governments for the more effectually ſecuring the enjoyment of this right, and muſt of courſe, carry with them into ſociety a right to the uſe of every means eſſential to that enjoyment. Government cannot be rightfully inſtituted but for the ſecurity of man; man in his beſt ſtate, not mere animal man, but man rational and moral. Man cannot become a ſlave without a violation of the laws of his being—he has a right to liberty as inalienable as the faculties of his mind, as his reaſon, and his conſcience—a right of which power may phyſically prevent the exerciſe, but which it never can morally deſtroy.

Hence all civil government, which is founded not in mere phyſical force, but in moral right, muſt recogniſe in the governed a right to every means neceſſary to their preſervation, as beings formed for moral exertion, and moral happineſs—to the preſervation in a word, of Liberty. What are theſe means? They are many and various. One there is ſuper-eminent, which guarantees, and can alone guarantee the enjoyment of every other, and which is morally as immutable, and inalienable, as the right of ſelf-preſervation itſelf. What is this? The right of poſſeſſing the beſt *phyſical* means of uſing phyſical force, if neceſſary, for the preſervation not only of life, but of whatever can render life deſirable to a free agent capable of moral happineſs. To uſe a more reſtricted deſcription intelligible

ligible by all—THE RIGHT OF HAVING ARMS.—God has formed man with good and with bad propenſities, but at the ſame time, with reaſon and conſcience, which demonſtrate that the good are to be cheriſhed, and the bad controuled. But if ſome men contravene reaſon and conſcience, what follows? If by their conduct they injure their fellow men, are their fellow men unreſiſtingly to become their prey? Are they, who endeavour to purſue a happineſs agreeable to their nature, tamely to ſuffer that happineſs to be deſtroyed by thoſe, who act contrary to nature? Aſſuredly not. What follows? That men have a right to repel injury, if neceſſary, by force. What is the force of man? He is not formed, with the native ſtrength, with the native arms, with the muſcle, the teeth, and the claws of the lion. But he is formed with an inventive mind, which ſubjects inanimate nature to his controul, and ſupplies him with modes of defence more formidable and effectual than the native arms of the brute creation. Is he not then to uſe the means of defence, with which nature has ſupplied him? Beyond all queſtion. When every other means of defence has been tried, and tried in vain, he has a right by the *ſword* to reſiſt whatever would rob him of life, or of the free exerciſe of thoſe powers of body and mind, which alone can render life a bleſſing.

As the right of ſelf-defence then is clear, as it is abſurd to admit the right of ſelf-defence without admitting the right of uſing the moſt effectual means of ſelf-defence, and abſurd alſo to admit the right of uſing theſe means without admitting the right of actually poſſeſſing

poſſeſſing the means, it is demonſtratively true, that in every civil ſociety rightfully conſtituted, the people ſhould actually poſſeſs the beſt means of employing phyſical force, if neceſſary to ſelf-defence againſt oppreſſion and injuſtice, for the proper uſe of which means the people is undoubtedly accountable—accountable to no earthly tribunal, but to heaven alone.

Unfortunately indeed for mankind this right has been rarely recogniſed in theory, and more rarely ſtill eſtabliſhed in practice; for unfortunately the great maſs of mankind has in every age of the world been enſlaved—brutaliſed in intellect, debaſed in ſentiment and abject in ſpirit—the tame unreſiſting prey of all the vile and all the furious paſſions, which take up their abode in the hearts of tyrants.

But in this land of freedom it is otherwiſe. Here this right, ſo eſſentially flowing from the right of ſelf-preſervation, is theoretically acknowledged, and practically, though too partially, enjoyed. Sir William Blackſtone, in his celebrated Commentaries on our Conſtitution and Laws, after enumerating and explaining various natural and impreſcriptible rights of the ſubject, concludes by ſaying, "That to preſerve theſe "rights from violation, it is neceſſary that the conſti-"tution of Parliaments be ſupported in its full vigour; "and limits certainly known be ſet to the royal pre-"rogative. And laſtly, to vindicate theſe rights, "when actually violated or attacked, the ſubjects of "England are entitled, in the firſt place, to the re-"gular adminiſtration and free courſe of juſtice in the

" courts of law; next, to the right of petitioning the " King and Parliament for redreſs of grievances; and " laſtly, to THE RIGHT OF HAVING AND USING ARMS " FOR SELF-PRESERVATION AND DEFENCE." Blackſtone cannot be ſuſpected of entertaining and broaching wild and romantic ideas on liberty and civil government, or of ignorance of the ſpirit and practice of the Britiſh Conſtitution. He may with much greater reaſon be accuſed of maintaining opinions too favourable to prerogative, and contrary to the natural and eternal rights of man. But Blackſtone, without forfeiting every pretention to honeſty, could not deny, indeed could not avoid recogniſing, in a treatiſe written profeſſedly on the laws and Conſtitution of England, the right in the ſubject, of both *having* and *uſing* arms for ſelf-preſervation. It is an inherent right of nature, which no human laws can abrogate, and which our laws expreſsly recogniſe. It is a right foſtered by the genius, and ſanctioned by the practice of our Conſtitution. In this country we have the authority of fact, an authority greater than that of Blackſtone, on the ſubject. In this country we have ſeen *armed citizens*, armed for ſelf-defence, armed for the defence of their native land, and its rights, of life and poſſeſſions dearer than life—Liberty and Independence. As *armed citizens* we have ſeen them hailed by the Parliament, an authority greater than Blackſtone. And in theſe days, even now, we ſee *armed citizens* ſummoned by the ſame Parliament to the actual exerciſe of this right. The YEOMANRY of Ireland are *armed citizens*, are citizens in the actual enjoyment of a right, which

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is derived from the firſt law of nature, and is eſſential to its operation.

For what purpoſe have they been armed? For ſelf-preſervation—for the preſervation of every thing, which can be dear to man—the preſervation of this country from foreign domination—the preſervation of ſelf-government, without which we become machines, the paſſive puppets of villainy and of caprice. What man among them feels that in arming for ſuch purpoſes he has relinquiſhed a ſingle privilege of a freeman? What man among them does *not* feel that, in arming for ſuch purpoſes, he was only ſummoned to the exerciſe of a right, without which every other muſt be illuſory and vain? What man among them does *not* feel that he ſtill poſſeſſes the ſame right to think, to ſpeak, and to act, which he poſſeſſed before, and that ſo far from relinquiſhing any other right, he has not rather, with his preſent character, aſſumed, if not new rights, at leaſt additional obligations and motives to the manly exerciſe of his former rights?

Let us apply theſe obſervations—Every ſubject of the ſtate, who has not, by ſome voluntary act, forfeited his claim to the privileges of a citizen, has an undoubted right to diſcuſs, and to paſs an opinion on every meaſure, which may affect theſe privileges. This is a right eſſential to every freeman, and recogniſed in the ſubjects of this ſtate by the theory and practiſe of the Conſtitution. By the ſame Conſtitution is acknowledged the right in the people of having and uſing arms for ſelf-preſervation, that is, as has

been demonſtrated, for the preſervation not only of life, but of the means of attaining and ſecuring the happineſs of life. Both theſe rights are recogniſed by the Conſtitution, as eſſentially appertaining to the people as freemen. And why? Becauſe the Conſtitution has conſidered both theſe rights as eſſential means of attaining the ſame end—the preſervation of the people, as an aggregate of moral agents united for the ſole purpoſe of more effectually ſecuring life and free agency. Therefore to maintain that an armed citizen has no right to declare his ſentiments on political queſtions, is in effect to maintain that the exerciſe of one eſſential right, neceſſarily deſtroys another eſſential right. Now reaſon demonſtrates, and the Conſtitution of this country admits its deciſion, that both theſe rights are eſſential to the freeman—that is, that they are rights without which man cannot be free—but the eſſentiality of properties to any ſubject neceſſarily implies their compatibility and co-exiſtence in that ſubject—it muſt therefore unavoidably follow, either that the Yeoman poſſeſſes both theſe rights, or that he is not free—Yeomen, chooſe.

But as declamation is too often ſubſtituted for argument, it may probably be aſked, what! would you then maintain the monſtrous poſition that every armed ſubject of the ſtate, that the ſoldiers of our ſtanding army, for inſtance, have a right to diſcuſs and to publiſh opinions on political ſubjects? Moſt certainly not. In this country indeed ſuch a practice has no long time ſince not merely been tolerated but encouraged by miniſters; but it is a practice, which our wiſe

Conſtitution

Conſtitution abhors, and I never will ſully my paper by an example drawn from the conduct of men, to whom this country owes all its misfortunes and all its crimes.

The ſtanding army is an evil rather endured by the body politic than a part of it. The mere ſoldier is not a citizen. The citizen and the mere ſoldier are as diſtinct as free agency and neceſſity, as liberty and ſlavery. The citizen is one, who has entered into ſociety the better to attain the dignity of his nature. The mere ſoldier is one, who has ſurrendered himſelf, as far as man can ſurrender himſelf, body and ſoul, to the abſolute diſpoſal of another. He is almoſt as paſſive as the ſword, with which he fights. He is the wretched inſtrument of that bloody ambition, which deſolates the earth. He is bought and ſold like the beaſt of the field. As a blood-hound he is let looſe upon the peaceable and induſtrious inhabitants of the plains, to ravage and deſtroy. What are the ſtanding armies of the faireſt and moſt civiliſed portion of the earth, of Europe, the ſeat of a mild and benevolent Religion, of ſcience and the arts? What are they, but dreadful diſeaſes in the body politic, growing out of the ignorance and untoward circumſtances of paſt times, which princes knew too well how to convert to the aggrandiſement of their power, and the gratification of their luſts? What are they, but enormous and expenſive machines of deſtruction, moved and directed by all the malignant and all the petty paſſions of the human heart, by the pride, the revenge, the ambition of kings and of miniſters, by the jealouſies and intrigues

trigues of panders and of whores? What are they, but deſtroying hurricanes, which ſweep away at once the fruits and the cultivators of the ſoil, the products and the means of induſtry, the monuments of literature and the arts, the works of ages, in the tempeſt of an hour?

From ſuch monſtrous productions, the offspring not of civil government but of tyranny, not of wiſdom and virtue, but of folly and of vice, no argument in the preſent caſe can poſſibly be drawn. There is not the ſlighteſt analogy between the armed citizen and the ſoldier. The one is armed by right, the other by wrong—the one to ſave, the other to deſtroy—the one as a free, the other as a neceſſary agent—in the one the carrying of arms is a virtue, in the other it is a crime.

Does the armed citizen, does the Yeoman feel that he is the paſſive inſtrument of folly and of guilt? Does he feel that in arming to maintain the Conſtitution, the Liberty, and the Independence of his Country, he has parted with an iota of his privileges as a man and a citizen? Does he feel that in the fruition of one eſſential right, is neceſſarily merged the fruition of another? Does he feel that in bracing on the buckler of Liberty, his thoughts have been manacled, and his mouth gagged—that at the very moment, when his heart beats higheſt, it ſhould find no utterance—that the tongue ſhould refuſe its office, when in its office it would be moſt honoured—that the feelings of the freeman ſhould periſh in the ſilence of the ſlave—that the

ſympathies

ſympathies of nature ſhould be chained, and the enthuſiaſm of virtue die in the boſom, which gives it birth? No—he does not feel thus—Reaſon, the Conſtitution of his country, and every ingenuous ſentiment, which can diſtinguiſh the freeman from the ſlave, tell him that he ought not to feel thus. They tell him, that, when armed to protect his rights, it is abſurd to think that he loſes them—that, when armed to protect his rights, he ſhould feel ſtrong, and not weak—that he ſhould feel encreaſed energy of action, not privation of bodily and mental powers—that he ſhould feel expanded not contracted, elevated not depreſſed, exalted not degraded, proud not debaſed, bold not ſpiritleſs, raiſed above his fellow-citizens not ſunk beneath them.

But it is *dangerous* that the armed citizen ſhould utter the dictates of his reaſon, and the feelings of his heart. Why? It may *overawe* the government. Why then is he armed at all? It is the misfortune of the bulk of mankind that a ſmall number of knaves cajole them by words, impoſe on them by ſounds. Crafty ſelf-intereſt ſows the ſeeds of impoſture, ignorance and indolence are the ſoil, and an abundant harveſt of errors is yielded to princes and to ſtateſmen. Men talk and will not think. The tongue can move almoſt without effort, but to think requires labour, abſtraction from pleaſure, and the ſubjection of the paſſions.

The ſoldier is an armed man—the citizen is an armed man—arms are arms—therefore the ſoldier is a citizen, and the citizen is a ſoldier. It is dangerous that ſoldiers ſhould be permitted to declare opinions

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on matters of government, therefore it is dangerous that the armed citizen ſhould be permitted to declare opinions on matters of government.—*Probatum eſt.*

The bulk of mankind can diſcern arms and a red coat, can diſcern a ſoldier and a yeoman ſimilar in accoutrements and figure, with the common ſhape of man, and the common ſtrut of ſoldier. But the bulk of mankind, without new illumination, cannot diſcern the true nature of civil government, cannot diſtinguiſh its uſes from its abuſes, cannot diſcern that the armed citizen is eſſential to, the ſoldier incompatible with, the perfection of civil government; that the one is the guardian of liberty, the other the inſtrument of oppreſſion, with which bad governments have at all times overawed the people, have robbed them of their rights, ſhut them out from the light of ſcience and almoſt from the light of heaven, darkened their habitations, and their minds, fleeced their bodies, and blotted out their intellect. The bulk of mankind cannot diſcern that the people ſhould overawe the government, and not the government, the people. Princes and ſtateſmen know that the bulk of mankind do not think, becauſe ignorant. Princes and ſtateſmen therefore endeavour to keep men ignorant, that they may not think, that they may be hood-winked, and led captive by words without knowledge.

What! The yeomen diſcuſs politics! Publiſh their opinion on politics! Armed men canvaſs matters of government! Overawe the government! Why then are they armed? Is it by words that they are to overawe the government, or is it by arms? Are they armed

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as mere ſoldiers, or as citizens? If as mere ſoldiers, let it be ſaid ſo—and let them, as mere ſoldiers, overawe the people. If as citizens—let them ſupport the rights of the people, and not ſuffer the government to deſtroy the Conſtitution. If they are neither citizens nor ſoldiers—if they are ſomething diſowned both by liberty and by deſpotiſm—if they are heteroclites in ſociety, anomalies in the body politic—let them lay down their arms.—Arms, which they cannot uſe as ſoldiers, and which deprive them of their rights as citizens.

*Overawe* the government! Happy for the nations of the earth, if governments were overawed in the ſenſe, in which princes and ſtateſmen underſtand the term. Happy for the nations of the earth, if ſoldiers were unknown, and the people armed. We ſhould neither be trodden down by tyranny, nor convulſed by revolution.

The plain truth is, that the apparent impropriety of armed citizens declaring their ſentiments in that character on political ſubjects, ariſes from this, that all citizens are not what they ought to be—armed. It ariſes not from any contradiction to the juſt principles of civil government, but from civil government in general not being founded on juſt principles. It ariſes from the weakeſt, though the moſt common of all reaſoning—reaſoning from the abuſe againſt the uſe. But in this country, the conſtitution of which is founded on juſt principles, ſuch reaſoning needs only to be ſtated in order to be expoſed. Here, as Blackſtone ſays, the people

have a right to carry and to uſe arms in defence of their liberty, and conſequently in defence of that conſtitution, which they have choſen as a means of guaranteeing the enjoyment of that liberty. In this country a portion of the people has been invited by the parliament to aſſume the actual exerciſe of that right, to arm in defence of the conſtitution. Now, to affirm that theſe men are armed in defence of the conſtitution, and may fight in defence of it, that they are armed and ſworn expreſsly for the purpoſe of defending it, but that by that very act, they have renounced all right to every means of defending it but one, that they have a right to ſave it by blood, but not by words, by war, but not by peace, is ſuch miſerable, ſuch unbluſhing nonſenſe, as eludes and mocks the chaſtiſement of reaſon and of ridicule. It is too ſilly to be refuted, and too dull to be laughed at.

That the Yeoman cannot forfeit the right of declaring his ſentiments on political ſubjects, which may affect his deareſt intereſts, by having armed to defend theſe very intereſts, if neceſſary, by the ſword, is a propoſition ſo plain and irrefragable, that an apology may ſeem wanting for having entered into an elaborate deduction of ſuch an obvious truth. It is an obvious truth—but it is an important one, involving, it may be, in its practical application, the preſervation of the Conſtitution and Independence of this country. It is an obvious truth—but it has been denied, and the denial appears to have been ſilently and tamely acquieſced in. It is an obvious truth—but he knows little of the human heart, who does not know

know that the plaineſt truths will be controverted by bad men, whenever it is the intereſt of bad men to controvert them; and he knows little of the human underſtanding, who does not know the facility, with which it ſupplies to the willing heart, the deluſions of falſehood. When a propoſition in its true ſenſe cannot be denied, its ſenſe will be really, though not formally, changed, and a diverſity of ideas diſguiſed under an identity of terms. As far as ſix letters of the Engliſh alphabet conſtitute the Yeoman, he will remain; but, for the reſt, he is no more. In the place of the citizen we find the ſoldier, the ſlave ſubſtituted for the freeman. The multitude attends to the ſound, not to the idea, and is convinced. The Yeoman views his uniform and accoutrements, ſhoulders his firelock, and forgets that he is free.

Not unfrequently too, truth will be admitted and eluded. It will be ſaid, the Yeomen certainly cannot forfeit the right of declaring their ſentiments on queſtions affecting their political intereſts by having armed to defend theſe intereſts when invaded, but why not declare their ſentiments in the common maſs of their fellow citizens? Why declare their ſentiments, as Yeomen? Why?—Becauſe they are Yeomen. Becauſe by becoming ſuch they have acquired not a new right, but an accidental propriety—a temporary claſſification with an appropriate ſignificancy—an individuality as an aggregate, whereby they can be at once numbered and contradiſtinguiſhed, among the various claſſes of their fellow citizens. In every ſociety ſuch claſſifications will ariſe from a thouſand accidental circumſtances. The members of the ſeveral claſſes have

certain properties common to all, becauſe eſſential to all as citizens, but each claſs will alſo have certain adventitious qualities, which inſulate, and diſtinguiſh it from thoſe around it; which, in a word, make it a claſs. The Yeomanry of Ireland is a kind of corporate exiſtence which holds its charter not from the crown, but from the genius of the Conſtitution.

Why, on that great queſtion of national independence, or annihilation, which now agitates this country, do we every day hear of Reſolutions publiſhed by the different claſſes in the community? Becauſe it anſwers the twofold purpoſe of convenience and of influence. As compoſed of citizens, all theſe claſſes have certain eſſential rights in common, and alſo certain adventitious and accidental qualities, which individualize each claſs, and hold it up to the nation at large, to judge of its integrity, its talents, its property, its reſpectability, or its meanneſs. For not only muſt the character of the individual members of each claſs, as individuals, as far as that can be known, but alſo the character of the claſs itſelf ariſing from thoſe adventitious circumſtances, which make it a diſtinct claſs, naturally determine in a great degree the attention due by the community to its opinions. The character of individuals, as ſuch, can be comparatively aſcertained by few, while the character of the claſs may be eaſily known to the nation. By means of this claſſification, therefore, not only can the ſentiments of the people on any national queſtion be more eaſily numbered, but alſo weighed.

Thus

Thus it appears that every man in theſe ſeveral claſſes has eſſential qualities and accidental qualities. The firſt ſpecies natural, the latter ſuperinduced—the one common, the other appropriate—the one permanent, the other mutable. When the citizen diſcharges the office of a Grand-juryman, he retains all the eſſential rights of a citizen, and alſo acquires an accidental character, in which he with great propriety publiſhes his ſentiments on political ſubjects. The office of a Grand-juryman has given him an accidental name and character notorious to the whole community, which ſtamp the value of his political opinions, and gives them a currency commenſurate with that notoriety. He paſſes through the entire kingdom for pretty nearly what he is worth. Upon examination too, it will be found that among the various adventitious circumſtances, which thus form and diſcriminate the different claſſes in ſociety, there will almoſt conſtantly exiſt ſome of a ſtriking political nature, which are of principal importance in aſcertaining the credit due to any declaration of political ſentiments. Theſe political circumſtances being generally intereſting, are generally known. So that while the political character of the individual himſelf can, in the nature of things, be known to very few, his character as belonging to a claſs may be known to the entire body politic. If the names of the worthy gentlemen, who compoſe the Corporation of Derry, ſhould appear in the newſpapers annexed to any political opinion, how few could poſſibly judge of the degree of credit attached to the ſignatures of theſe reſpectable citizens! whereas, if they publiſhed the ſame opinion in their corporate capacity, not only this country,

try, but probably all Europe could form a very adequate idea of its importance. The political character of classes of men in general represents with great faithfulness, the political character of the individuals, who compose them, and must necessarily be known to thousands, who can never hear so much as the names of the individuals themselves. This classification is in society, what general principles are in science, it enables us to reason a priori, where we must otherwise proceed by a tedious induction from particulars.

Hence the propriety and utility of any class publishing an opinion, particularly on political subjects, as a class. While its members, are individually unknown to the public, and consequently can at most only be estimated by mere numeration, as a class it affords all the advantages of numeration, and many more. Its members can be weighed in the balance of truth, where character alone inclines the scale.

Experience too demonstrates, that amidst the variety of causes, which determine the characters, and influence the actions of mankind, the *l'esprit du corps*, or spirit of *Cast*, as it may be called, has commonly the greatest weight of any. So that by only knowing the *Cast*, to which a man belongs, a more accurate estimate of his principles and conduct can, in general, be formed, than if we knew every other circumstance of his condition, without knowing the fraternity, in which he is enrolled. This *esprit du corps* is capable of being generally known, and generally estimated; its influence is powerful, whether malignant or benign; and,

and, in judging of the political ſentiments of men, it is, perhaps, the only conſideration, which can determine the public mind in forming a juſt opinion of their value.

Theſe obſervations, which appear to be founded on juſt principles of reaſoning, and confirmed by experience, furniſh an obvious and ſatisfactory reaſon why the Yeomanry of Ireland may declare, are bound in duty to declare, their ſentiments on ſubjects of national political concern, in their diſtinctive character of yeomen. The yeomanry are a claſs in ſociety, poſſeſſing all the eſſential rights of citizenſhip in common with the reſt of the ſociety, but at the ſame time diſtinguiſhed by certain peculiar qualities ſuperinduced by adventitious circumſtances, which render them the object of diſtinct attention, capable of diſtinct valuation, and of diſtinct efficiency. By theſe circumſtances they have acquired a diſtinct political exiſtence and character. They have been called to the actual enjoyment of a right the moſt important. They have been ſummoned by the Conſtitution to arm in its defence in the hour of danger. They have obeyed the ſummons. The legiſlature has recorded their zeal and their ſervices. They have been called the ſaviours of the land. Panegyric has been exhauſted in deſcribing their loyalty and their patriotiſm. Thus placed on an eminence, to which their countrymen naturally look up with great expectation, will it be ſaid that the YEOMEN OF IRELAND ſhould blend their voices, and hide their heads in the common maſs, while grand juries, while guilds, and while corporations appear in a character

a character diſtinctive and appropriate? Will it be ſaid that the ſaviours of the land muſt not declare, "We have ſaved the land, and we will again ſave it, if neceſſary, whether aſſailed from without or from within, by Buonaparte, or by Pitt?" Will it be ſaid, that men ſworn to defend the Conſtitution ſhall not declare, "We have ſworn to defend the Conſtitution, and we will keep our oaths?" Will it be ſaid that men, who can with moſt effect ſpeak out in the cauſe of liberty, muſt be ſilent? And that the capacity of being uſeful impoſes the duty of being inactive! Will it be ſaid that remedy is preferable to prevention, war to peace, and that where argument may convince, and opinion awe, reaſon muſt be ſhackled, and ſentiment repreſſed? Will it, indeed, be ſaid, that the YEOMEN OF IRELAND, the ſworn guardians of our civil polity, and who have bled in its defence, have by the very act of preſerving the conſtitution, forfeited the faireſt and moſt uſeful privilege, which it ſecures: that men diſtinguiſhed from their fellow citizens by merit, muſt ſuffer the pains of delinquency, and that the ſervice of the patriot muſt be rewarded by an approximation to the ſlave? Or if ſuch things ſhould be ſaid by miniſters, and their hirelings, by men, who reaſon to deceive, who adviſe to betray, and who *divide to enſlave*; by men, who would extinguiſh all the knowledge, wither all the induſtry, and emaſculate all the manhood of the land: if by ſuch men ſuch things ſhould be ſaid, will the YEOMEN OF IRELAND ſurrender their underſtandings and their feelings, their rights, their intereſt, their duty, their honor, and their oaths,

to

to the deluſions of impoſture, and the machinations of tyranny?

If the right of the YEOMANRY to declare their ſentiments on political ſubjects, as citizens, as members of a ſtate, the conſtitution of which recognizes and guarantees the natural indefeaſible rights of man, be clear and indiſputable; if the propriety and utility of exerciſing this right, in their public character of Yeomen, be alſo clear and indiſputable, can there be a doubt of the ſacred obligation of exerciſing it, with zeal, and with courage, on occaſions ſufficiently important to demand political exertion?

Who are the YEOMANRY OF IRELAND? A portion of the people eminently diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by appropriate characteriſtics, which arreſt attention, and give weight to opinion. What is the people? The great aggregate of individuals united in ſociety for the purpoſe of ſecuring general happineſs by a union of wills and of ſtrength, the ſource of all political authority, the final arbiter, on earth, of all political action. In every ſtate, therefore, the men, to whom the people has, through the Conſtitution, committed the government, muſt, of right, obey the voice of the people. What is the voice of the people? Such an expreſſion of the general will as leaves no doubt of its title—*vox populi vox Dei.* The will of the people is the only earthly authority, which can rightfully conſti-

tute civil government.—This will is abſolute, and independent of all human convention. Each individual in ſociety is accountable for his conduct, ultimately, as a moral agent, to the ſearcher of all hearts; immediately, to the whole community, as a member of the civil aſſociation; but the community itſelf, as an aggregate, is accountable to no tribunal under heaven.

What is the civil conſtitution of a ſtate conſtituted on principles of moral right? It is the *primary inſtrumentality* contrived by the people for attaining the end of political aſſociation. What is the government? The *ſecondary inſtrumentality* framed to give effect to the firſt. In other words, the Conſtitution is the rule preſcribed by the people, according to which the Government is to act. The government is the machine itſelf in motion, the Conſtitution is the law, by which that motion is to be directed. In this country, for inſtance, the mode, by which laws are to be enacted, and adminiſtered, is, the Conſtitution. The Parliament, and the Executive, conſtitute the Government. In every civil ſociety the people poſſeſſes an undoubted right, originally, to create, and ever after, to new model, the Conſtitution; and to depoſe and puniſh, according to circumſtances, the government. But the government cannot poſſeſs a right of altering the conſtitution. The Government is a mere machine, to which the people has ordained its laws of action, without an iota of power beyond the

the laws preſcribed. It is monſtrous to maintain that the Government can change the Conſtitution. It is ſpeculative tyranny, a mental uſurpation of the rights of the people. The Government change the Conſtitution! By force and by fraud it may—by right it never can—Such an act inſtantly diſſolves its own conſtitutional exiſtence, it cannot rightfully ſubſiſt a moment longer.

Now, as in every civil ſociety the government muſt unavoidably poſſeſs various means of defeating the ends of its inſtitution in the very powers neceſſary to give its inſtitution effect; as bad men may introduce themſelves into the adminiſtration of the Government; every Conſtitution ſhould be framed with a view to counteract by every poſſible contrivance the unavoidable inconveniences of a body politic. As men in power are frequently weak and wicked, every Conſtitution ſhould be formed upon a calculation of human imbecility and corruption. The violent diſſolution of the body politic, is an event moſt anxiouſly to be guarded againſt. But as Liberty alone can make civil ſociety a bleſſing, as where the ſecurity of this is not the great object of the Conſtitution the body politic had much better be diſſolved than exiſt, and as the people poſſeſſes the right of diſſolving it; even upon the principle of preventing the evils almoſt inſeparable from political revolution, every means, which can be deviſed, at once ſecuring the ends of ſociety, and guarding againſt its violent diſſolution,

diſſolution, ſhould make a part of the proviſions of the Conſtitution. In this point of view no means appear more admirably adapted to both theſe purpoſes, to the preſervation of Liberty, and the prevention of Revolution, than the acknowledged right in the people of declaring their judgment and feelings on matters of Government, and the free exerciſe of this right. From Nature the people poſſeſſes this right independent of a civil code. But happy is it when a Conſtitution is formed expreſsly recogniſing this ſalutary controul over the Government. Happy is it where a Conſtitution is founded on the baſis of Liberty, and embraces, in its proviſions, every ſubſidiary means of ſecuring its own permanence, and warding off the evils of diſſolution.

Such is the Conſtitution, which we boaſt. Such is the Conſtitution, which invites and commands the people of this country, to raiſe the voice, in order to prevent the neceſſity of raiſing the arm in its defence. To defend that Conſtitution which the people has choſen as the inſtrument of happineſs, if neceſſary, by *force*, is a ſacred duty impoſed on us by Nature, and kept conſtantly in view by the Conſtitution itſelf, which by arming the people, reminds them of the duty. But it is a prior duty to defend the Conſtitution by the way of peace rather than by the ſword, and this duty does the ſame Conſtitution anxiouſly inculcate in the various means, which it provides for the free expreſſion

expreſſion of the public will. YEOMEN OF IRELAND, do you not feel theſe united obligations? When the Conſtitution ſummons you to its defence, by every principle of reaſon, of intereſt, and of glory, are you not bound to obey the call?

That a neceſſity for ſuch a ſummons might exiſt in the viciſſitude of human affairs, the experience of mankind forbids us to doubt. If, for inſtance, a time ſhould arrive when a *part* of the government of this country, forgetting the right by which the government exiſts, and the ends, for which it was created, forgetting that it exiſts by the people, and for their uſe, ſhould attempt the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, to which the government itſelf is but miniſterial; while both are but miniſterial to the happineſs of the people, and while both can by the people alone be rightfully deſtroyed—if it ſhould attempt this ſubverſion by means the moſt diabolical and foul—if it ſhould artfully promote religious feuds among the people in order to make the animoſity of contending ſects ſubſervient to a remote and deep-laid ſcheme of common ſubjugation—if it ſhould, with the ſame infernal policy, inſtigate a ſtarved and tortured peaſantry to rebellion againſt the ſtate, in order at once to terrify the titled and the rich, and to have a pretence for thining the population of the land—If, in quelling that rebellion, it ſhould exerciſe cruelties unparalleled in the annals of fanaticiſm—if it ſhould make the gentry of the country inſtruments of torture, in order to

fix

fix in the mind of the poor a deep and lasting rancour againſt the higher ranks in ſociety—if it ſhould afterwards hold out to the mangled peaſantry, a hollow and treacherous peace, to conceal, under the maſk of mercy, the demon of perdition—if it ſhould by every inſidious artifice, by addreſſing itſelf to pride, avarice, and fear, to all the malignant and all the ſordid paſſions of the human breaſt, goad on the parliament to the enacting of ſanguinary laws, in order to excite the terror and abhorrence of the people, that feeling the exiſtence of the parliament a curſe, the people might ſeek relief in its annihilation—if it ſhould with unequaled inſolence and effrontery, publiſh and boaſt of its crimes, and unfeelingly urge them as arguments for deſtroying the conſtitution—if, finding all theſe means unſucceſsful, its deteſtable arts expoſed and defeated, one portion of the people reſtored from fanaticiſm to the empire of reaſon and humanity, thereſt willing to forget the inſtruments in the inſtigators of their ſufferings, if finding itſelf thus baffled it ſhould change its method of attack, if it ſhould aſſail the Conſtitution by Parliament, and the Parliament by Corruption—if this corruption ſhould become unmeaſured, open, and avowed—if this corruption ſhould ſucceed, and the Parliament ſhould be ready to deſtroy the Conſtitution—if nothing could arreſt this moſt impudent and infamous traffic of the rights, independence, and glory of the land, but the united voices of the people, the univerſal proteſt of the nation againſt the

act

act of its eternal ſubjection—if nothing but this, or a revolution, could reſcue Ireland from the grave—if your countrymen feeling the inevitable alternative, ſhould wiſely reſolve to try firſt the way of peace, and endeavour to appal by the public voice, this vile portion of the Government thus wickedly and arrogantly aſſailing the Conſtitution. —If ſuch a time as this ſhould arrive—YEOMEN OF IRELAND, could *you* be ſilent?

FINIS.

# PRO and CON:

BEING

AN IMPARTIAL ABSTRACT

OF THE

## PRINCIPAL PUBLICATIONS

ON THE SUBJECT OF A

## LEGISLATIVE UNION,

BETWEEN

*GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*;

IN WHICH THE

ARGUMENTS *FOR* AND *AGAINST* THAT MEASURE,
BY THE FOLLOWING WRITERS,

ARE FAIRLY CONTRASTED;

*VIZ.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Earl of Clare, | Earl of Farnham, |
| Lord Auckland, | Rt. Hon. Mr. Foster, |
| Lord Minto, | Sir J. W. Jervis, Bt. |
| Rt. Hon. Mr. Addington, | Mr. Spencer, |
| Rt. Hon. Mr. Pitt, | Mr. Bousfield, |
| Rt. Hon. Mr. Dundas, | Mr. Edgeworth, |
| Rt. Hon. Mr. Douglas, | Mr. Rudd, |
| Dean Tucker, | Mr. Goold, |
| Mr. Wm. Smith, | Mr. Taaffe, |
| Dr. Clarke, | Mr. Weld, |
| Mr. Peele, | Mr. Sheehy, |
| Dr. M'Kenna, | Dr. Drennan: |

ALSO,

Arguments for and against, &c.—Cease your Funning,—
Impartial View of the Causes leading to, &c.—
Tit for Tat,—and many other Anonymous
Writers on this Subject.

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BY A SEARCHER AFTER TRUTH.

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1800.

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INTRO-

# INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the boaſted and valuable privileges of a Britiſh ſubject, one of the moſt important, and moſt eſſential to real liberty, is the Freedom of the Preſs. Before the invention of the Art of Printing, liberty may have been enjoyed at certain times, and at certain places; but it could not have been either permanent, or ſecure, for want of an eaſy circulation of ſentiment, and a free communication of idea. This a free preſs ſecures to the ſubject; it impoſes a check upon the conduct of the moſt exalted and powerful, and protects the order of ſociety, from the danger of any violent infraction. It is productive of another and more poſitive advantage, though perhaps of leſs immediate and univerſal value to ſociety: it furniſhes the eaſieſt vehicle, and the ſureſt criterion of the real ſentiments of a people; it ſupplies, from a multitude of counſellors, opinions upon public matters, which have no other means of communication; it provides the ſtateſman with aſſiſtance to effect his deſigns, or to correct his errors, from talents that would otherwiſe lie buried in obſcurity, and that would ſhrink from a direct application, or from a more conſpicuous exertion.

Thus, ever ſince Freedom has been regularly eſtabliſhed in the Britiſh empire, the Preſs, upon every important point in agitation, has teemed with declarations, of the opinions, or of the fancies of men, on each ſide of every great queſtion. The preſent ſubject of public debate, a Legiſlative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, has roufed the attention of all ranks of men, from the capital to the remoteſt extremities of the iſland: and as it is the moſt momentous topic, that has ever yet come under the diſcuſſion of the Iriſh Parliament, it has produced a greater number of publications, than, probably, any other matter of ſtate policy has ever given riſe to.

On this, as on all ſimilar occaſions, ſome of the pamphlets offered to the public, are the children of paſſion, and devoid of all argument: ſome are mere declamation; and among

among thoſe that are argumentative, different authors have viewed the ſubject under different lights; and in ſupport of the ſame opinion, arguments are ſometimes urged, diſſimilar to each other, and even contradictory. It is of moment to the welfare of the people, that the Public, as well as thoſe whoſe province it is to decide, ſhould entertain juſt conceptions of ſo important an object: but there are few, whoſe leiſure, or whoſe inclination will permit them, to take the trouble of wading through the prodigious number of pages, that have been written on this ſubject; and fewer ſtill, who are capable, in the rapid view that a pamphlet uſually obtains, of reaping much information, from a looſe and deſultory collection of arguments, ſcattered wide, without order, or connexion.

It occurred therefore that ſome ſervice might be rendered to the Public, by collecting into one point of view, all that has been urged in print; and by oppoſing to each other, the arguments on either ſide, ſo as that the ſolidity of each might become apparent at a glance, and that a few moments might ſuffice to go through the condenſed ſubſtance of what, in a more dilated form, would require weeks, or months to peruſe.

Having read all the principal pamphlets and ſpeeches, that have been publiſhed on the ſubject, whether in ſupport of the expediency of an Union, or in oppoſition to that meaſure, the compiler has extracted every argument, that offered itſelf to his obſervation, and, in methodizing them here, has endeavoured to preſerve to each, the full force which its reſpective authors ſeemed to attribute to it. Impartiality and perſpicuity have been his chief aim; and, as he has ſought with equal aſſiduity to procure for himſelf ſatisfactory information, as to contribute to public convenience, he is not conſcious of having, in any caſe, either over-rated, or under-valued any argument, which has preſented itſelf in the writings, either of the advocates, or the opponents of an Union.

For the ſake of clear arrangement, the various arguments are diſpoſed under three diſtinct heads, viz.

1ſt. *Political*, as reſpecting the *external relations* of Ireland in connexion and intercourſe with Great Britain.

2dly. *Political*, as reſpecting the *internal peace and proſperity* of Ireland. And,

3dly. *Commercial*.

In

In the margin, oppoſite to each argument, ſtand the names of the principal authors, by whom it has been urged: when any argument, or any part of an argument, has been repeated by more than one writer, the names annexed are connected by the conjunction, *and*: when a name ſtands without that conjunction, it deſignates the ſole author, of the argument, to which it is affixed.

In like manner, the name and number printed at the bottom of the page, preſent a reference to the author, by whom, on the other ſide of the queſtion, reſpectively, the adjoining argument has been oppoſed, and to the page in which his anſwer may be found.

It ſeems to be the natural order, that thoſe arguments ſhould be placed firſt, which have been urged in ſupport of a propoſed meaſure; and that, thoſe, by which its opponents have combated, ſhould follow. For the ſake of a more eaſy compariſon, each head contains immediately contraſted the arguments on each ſide.

A

PRO

# PRO AND CON,

&c. &c.

## IN FAVOUR OF A LEGISLATIVE UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND;

### ARGUMENTS POLITICAL, RESPECTING THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF IRELAND, IN CONNEXION AND INTERCOURSE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

*Weakneſs of preſent connexion.* A PERPETUAL and intimate connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, is eſſential to the intereſts of both :* the geographical ſituation of the two iſlands render any medium impoſſible, between the moſt intimate connexion, and rivalſhip or enmity: the connexion between them is regarded, by the enemies of the empire, as its moſt vulnerable point; and, as the disjunction of the two great limbs would annihilate the power of the empire, their chief object, and almoſt only remaining hope, is to effect a ſeparation; this connexion has, in conſequence, been expoſed to the repeated attacks both of foreign enemies and domeſtic traitors; it ought, therefore, to be ſufficiently ſtrengthened, to be capable of withſtanding theſe efforts of the enemy.

Pitt, & Lord Minto. Lord Minto. Pitt, & Addington, & Douglas, & Lord Minto.

*Settlement of 1782 inadequate.* The ſettlement of 1782, which is called *final*, conſiſted merely in the demolition of the injurious ſyſtem, by which the two countries were before held together, § without ſubſtituting any other in its place: and, though ſuch a ſtate of things as was then eſtabliſhed, might have ſubſiſted for a while, during a period of tranquillity, it was ill ſuited to bear the agitation of the tempeſt that has ſince convulſed the greater part of Europe, and has imparted its malignant principles to Ireland. Such was the opinion, with regard to that ſettlement, of the Britiſh Parliament at the time, of the miniſtry by whom it was propoſed and conducted, and of thoſe very perſons who now call it a *final* adjuſtment; it was the declared opinion of the gentleman who now takes the lead in its ſupport, that it could not laſt: the Iriſh Parliament, in their anſwer to the meſſage from the throne recommending the adoption of

Pitt, & Addington, & Dundas. Addington. Pitt,



* Foſter, 27. § Ibid. 26.

& Addington. Pitt. Douglas. Smith, & Addington, & Douglas. Douglas. Smith.

ſome plan of *final adjuſtment between the two countries*, are totally ſilent with regard to that part of it contained in the word *final*. So far was that ſettlement from being then looked on as final and complete, that the then miniſter thought it neceſſary to move, that a further ſettlement was neceſſary for the maintenance of connexion; and an addreſs was voted to the King,* praying him to take ſuch *further* meaſures as he ſhould think fit to ſtrengthen the connexion: his Majeſty's anſwer ſtated his compliance with the requeſt of the Houſe, and was delivered by Mr. Fox. In objection to this ſtatement, it is urged, that the addreſs contains not the word *further*, and that it, therefore, alluded only to the meaſures then about to be embraced: but Mr. Fox, in his ſpeech on the occaſion, ſaid expreſsly, that *ſomething more than what he had ſtated to be his intention, was fit and proper to be done, &c. but it was not to be propoſed by him, it was the duty of the Crown to look to that.* In 1785, the ſame gentleman declared, that no idea of commercial regulation had been entertained by the adminiſtration of 1782, in the reſolution propoſed.

But, however intereſting to aſcertain, the opinions of men at that time cannot be binding on them now, nor upon the parliament of either country; nor even, if by either parliament a formal and expreſs declaration had been made againſt any further adjuſtment, or againſt a legiſlative union, would it by any means prevent that ſubject from being now entertained.

But it is a mere diſpute about words to dwell upon the term *final* adjuſtment, as applied to that of 1782; for, admitting that adjuſtment to be *final*, as it undoubtedly was, ſo far as the limits of thoſe doubts and controverſies, to which it was the object of that arrangement to put an end, ſtill it was not *preclufive*; it did not deprive the King of the right to recommend, nor the parliament of the power to receive any propoſal for deliberation. The object of that ſettlement was to remove thoſe grievances of which Ireland then complained; viz. the claim of Great Britain to bind Ireland by her laws; the appellant juriſdiction of the Britiſh Houſe of Lords; Poynings' law; and the frame and perpetuity of the mutiny-bill. Theſe, it did finally remove, by a compact which cannot be violated without a groſs breach of faith; and no more than this was meant in the expreſſion, *final*; together with a *hope* that *no conſtitutional queſtion* would exiſt afterwards, to diſturb the harmony of the two kingdoms—that is, no cauſe of diſpute or contention; it could not have been intended to exclude all amicable propoſals from one to the other, or from the Sovereign to both: and, being only an abolition of abuſe, and a reſtitution of the original principles

* Foſter, 26.

principles of the conſtitution, it left Ireland as free to receive any propoſal of treaty or compact as before ſuch abuſe took place; therefore this propoſal is no violation of the compact of 1782.

It appears, then, from the expreſſions uſed by miniſters,* as above, that the ſyſtem of connexion was at that time deemed imperfect; it ſtill remains the ſame: and, while it declares the moſt ſtrict and intimate connexion to be eſſential to the individual intereſts, and general welfare of both countries, it leaves them connected by no other tie, than the community of the executive government, with the privilege of aſſenting to Iriſh acts of parliament under the great ſeal of Great Britain, and directing Iriſh affairs by the advice of Britiſh miniſters:—a bond of connexion which is inſufficient to conſolidate the ſtrength of the two countries in time of war; to unite them in time of peace; to guard againſt local jealouſies and doubts, which muſt exiſt between countries ſo connected; to give to Ireland all the commercial and political advantages, which ſhe might derive from a cloſer connexion with Great Britain; or to improve both nations to that degree of ſtrength and proſperity of which they are capable.— Pitt.

A *connexion of affection* is mere ſentiment and nonſenſe; it cannot exiſt between nations, for they can be guided by intereſt alone, and are incapable of affection; and reaſon is required in ſober argument, not ſentiment. Lord Minto.

The preſent imperfect ſyſtem of connexion has this fundamental vice, that by the very law of its conſtitution and nature, it muſt tend gradually, though not always with rapidity, yet certainly and inevitably to diſſolution. Such a connexion, between two unequal countries, is the means of aſcendancy in one, and the cauſe of ſubordination in the other.— But the natural love of independency will ſet a ſpirit of jealouſy at work in the weaker, which will continually ſtrive to improve and enlarge that independency, by the only poſſible means; that is by ſtriking off link after link of the connexion, which impoſes ſome reſtraint, till the laſt thread ſhall be broken: this ſtatement is ſupported by the uniform teſtimony of all hiſtory. ‡ Ditto.

There are but two poſſible methods, by which the imperfection of this ſyſtem can be remedied;—by a compact between the two kingdoms, or by the blending and indentification of their legiſlatures. The former has been already tried, and found to be impracticable (commercial propoſitions of Pitt.

* Foſter, 27, and Taafe, &c. 28.

‡ In Lord Minto's ſpeech the reader will find an analyſis of the various poſſible modes of connexion between two countries, ſtated in order to prove that no other can be ſecure or permanent but entire conſolidation.

of 1785): the alternative, therefore, is to remain in the preſent ſituation, ſubject to endleſs jealouſies and diſſenſions, expoſed to the malignity of the enemy in a point of the higheſt importance, where weakneſs invites attack; or, to adopt the meaſure propoſed.

Pitt, & Addington. Experience proves the imperfection of the preſent ſyſtem; for the ill effects of jarring legiſlatures have been felt, in the only inſtance, which has yet occurred, where they could have been felt, in the affair of the regency:* there the two legiſlatures acted upon different principles; and though they happened to coincide in the choice of the perſon, yet the regent would have held his authority upon different tenures in the two countries. It is poſſible for many other queſtions to ariſe, which may occaſion diſſenſion; as, for inſtance, that of peace or war. Supplies might be granted by the one, and Addington. withheld by the other. And this danger of diſſenſion muſt very greatly increaſe, if the Roman Catholics ſhould obtain admiſſion into the legiſlature, and influence its decifions; for many cauſes of difference might ariſe between them and the Britiſh Parliament, on points leſs capable of reconciliation.

*Union will ſtrengthen the empire.* Pitt, & Ld. Minto. It is the opinion of every ſtateſman of abilities, acquainted with the intereſts of the Britiſh empire,§ and of every well-informed writer who may have touched upon the ſubject, that the general power of the empire would be very greatly extended by ſuch a conſolidation of the ſtrength of the two Ditto. kingdoms, in a far greater proportion than the ſimple addition of their reſpective amounts.

Pitt. The commercial reſources of the empire, in which its ſtrength conſiſts, would evidently be much increaſed by any meaſure that ſhould communicate to Ireland the commercial advantages of England, open the market of one country to the other, and give them the common uſe of Britiſh capital. And ſince, in caſe of attack, Ireland now depends for protection upon the power, naval and military, of Great Britain, the beſt method of guarding her againſt danger is to enable Ireland to defend herſelf, and to ſtrengthen her by a participation of the wealth and power of Britain.

Douglas, & Anon. The ſtrength of any people is beſt increaſed and ſecured by an identity of government, and identity of intereſt. One general ſuperintending legiſlature is beſt fitted for the ſteady conſiſtent government of all the parts of which it is compoſed.

Anon. France well knows the principle and the force of incorporations, and has practiſed it with ſucceſs in her own caſe, while, on the contrary, ſhe maintains with regard to the politics of the Britiſh empire the principle of ſeparation, as eſſential to freedom,

* Foſter, Bousfield, 30. § Foſter, 31.

freedom, and, with as sound policy, aims at forming into independent republics its two members, Scotland and Ireland. In whatever part of an united people wealth may be accumulated, its benefits will pervade and fructify the whole. London feels no detriment to its interests in the prosperity of Bristol or Liverpool; for one country, under a common legislature, has a common interest. In the present precarious state of connexion, the idea of *distinctness of interest*, which is but a convertible term for separation, is ever present; and, with the increasing strength and wealth of the inferior country, that of a *possible* future separation becomes more practicable, and more formidable. While there is a *possibility* of such an event, it is the interest of the wealthier country to restrain, to a certain degree, this rising prosperity; and before England will promote the interests of Ireland to the extent of which they are capable, she must be well assured that they are identified with her own.

The measure proposed is not, in the least, derogatory to the honor and dignity of Ireland, nor does it imply any inferiority on her part. This jealousy for the independence of Ireland is a natural feeling or passion, but it is ill directed; for true patriotism is guided by utility, and embraces those measures which contribute to the welfare and prosperity of the country. It is an union, by treaty, of two independent nations, upon equal terms, by which no part of the united country is more subjugated or dependent than the rest; it is a confederacy, which in the very act recognises the independence of both; and, without this acknowledged independence, a treaty of union could not take place, because both parties could not treat fairly and equally. It was never objected, by the most captious opponent of the Scotch union, that the independence of the Scotch parliament was attacked by the proposal, and yet its independence was to the full as complete as that of the Irish parliament. In the present case it is manifestly for the advantage of a country incapable of defending or providing for herself, to unite, upon terms of equality, with that country whence she has derived every thing valuable or important in her possession. Distinctness is not to be confounded with independence, nor union with subordination.

*It not derogatory to Ireland.* Pitt, & Dundas, & Lord Minto, & Addington. Dundas. Pitt, & Smith.

The independence of the British parliament was not infringed by the addresses of the Irish houses to the Queen in 1703 and 1707, asking for an union: neither can that of the Irish parliament, equally free and independent, be violated by such a *proposal* coming from England; but, as before stated, the very proposal is a solemn recognition of its independence, and its exclusive competence to decide upon the question.—The compact of 1782 cannot have done more, than make Ireland as independent of Britain as that country is of Ireland; but Smith.

but the *adoption of an union* would not encroach on the independence of England; neither can it on that of Ireland, which is not greater.

The number of Iriſh repreſentatives may be diminiſhed, but a repreſentation proportioned to the territory, population, reſources, and contribution of Ireland, in an union identifying the intereſts of the two countries, is ſufficient to ſecure to her an independence equal to that enjoyed by any part or diſtrict of Great Britain; which may yet bear but a ſmall proportion in the ſum of Britiſh repreſentation. It is therefore an idle objection to ſay, that the Iriſh members may be outvoted by
Anon. the ſuperior number of the Britiſh members. An union would neither annihilate the Iriſh legiſlature, nor transfer its authority into other hands; but would combine it, upon equal terms, with another independent legiſlature, where having its due proportion of weight and influence, it might much better ſupport the independence and dignity of the country, than in its preſent ſituation: for never, but at a moment of general terror and alarm, has it been known to have a will of its own, except on the one queſtion of the regency; and there it ſerved only to ſhew, how looſe the connexion is, and how near folly or wickedneſs might go to diſſolve the only bond.

Douglas. Ireland, by an union, no more becomes a *province* in any offenſive ſenſe of the word, than Great Britain: they both become provinces, or component parts, of one whole; one integral empire.

*Proſperity of Ireland not to be attributed to the ſettlement of* 1782. Douglas. Neither is it to the tranſaction of 1782 that the progreſſive improvement in the trade, manufactures, and proſperity of Ireland, is to be attributed. Its proſperity* is not ſecured by that ſettlement, but is in a great degree dependent on the policy and wiſdom of Great Britain; and the only ſafeguard of its permanence is that very meaſure which it is pretended would produce a contrary effect.

The great points gained by Ireland in the way of commerce, were the fruits of ſeveral Britiſh acts of parliament† of 1779 and 1780, which firſt opened her trade with America and the Weſt India colonies, as well as with the reſt of the world.—And it was not till 1793§ that permiſſion was granted her to trade to the colonies on the ſame footing with Great Britain. This act will hardly be ſaid to be an effect of the arrangement of 1782, and the others were antecedent to it. But Ireland was growing faſt in induſtry, enterpriſe, manufactures, trade, and

* Foſter, 27.

† 19 George III. c. 35. 20 George III. c. 6.
- - - - - - c. 37. - - - - - c. 10.
- - - - - - - - - - - - c. 18.

§ 33 George III. c. 63.

and agriculture, before either the acknowledgment of her independence, or the grant of her free trade; and all the three kingdoms have flouriſhed with an accelerated rapidity for about fifty years, ſince the general pacification of Europe by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In 1776 it was the opinion of Lord Chief Baron Foſter, (a man of great acuteneſs and accurate enquiry) as recorded by Mr. Arthur Young,* that "Ireland had improved more within the laſt twenty years than in a century before; that the great ſpirit of improvement had begun in 1749 and 1750; and that, in the ſpace of about thirty years, the exportation of linen and yarn had ariſen from 500,000*l.* to between 1,200,000*l.* and 1,500,000*l.*;" nearly treble.—And yet, ſince that time, notwithſtanding the tranſaction of 1782, improvement has not continued to advance in the ſame ratio; ſo that it ſeems much more reaſonable to aſcribe the growing improvement of Ireland to the ſpirit which began about 1750.

That the ſettlement of 1782 is no ſecurity for the permanence of the advantages enjoyed by Ireland, is plain. For, however Great Britain may have renounced the power of binding Ireland by Britiſh laws, ſhe cannot have reſtrained herſelf from repealing her own acts; and the encouragements which have promoted the proſperity of the linen manufacture of Ireland, as well as her trade with the colonies, are derived merely from Britiſh laws, which are of courſe liable to be repealed by the Britiſh legiſlature.

It is ſometimes *admitted* that theſe advantages are derived from Britiſh laws, and are therefore dependent on Great Britain; but, in anſwer it is urged, that, though by a war of duties and prohibitions Britain might injure Ireland, ſhe herſelf muſt alſo inevitably ſuffer in the conteſt, and therefore wiſdom and policy, as well as liberality, muſt ever prevent her from engaging in ſuch hoſtilities. This is certainly true, but wiſdom is not a poſſeſſion in perpetuity; the principles now held with regard to commerce, it is poſſible, may change hereafter; ſucceeding adminiſtrations may entertain different opinions from thoſe of the preſent day, with regard to policy and expediency; diſputes and animoſities may ariſe, and, in ſuch a caſe, there is no treaty, no ſecurity that Ireland can have recourſe to.

The conduct of England towards Scotland,† before the union, is a caſe exactly in point: and yet it ſeems to have been as much the intereſt of England to promote the welfare of that country, as to further the proſperity of Ireland.

In

* It is from the ſame period nearly that Dr. Adam Smith dates the rapid progreſs of improvement in Scotland, and the eſtabliſhment of country banks. Douglas.

† Foſter, Spencer, Rudd, Goold, Bonfield, 33.

*Propositions of 1785.*

In 1785 it was thought that the commercial connexion was not sufficiently secure under such protection, and those who were best acquainted with the interests of Ireland, wished for the "security of a legislative compact;" yet the warmest advocates of that imperfect measure are, now the foremost to reject a legislative security of a more binding nature, which cannot be dissolved.

Smith.

The modification of Poynings' law in 1782 (by which it is required that the royal assent be affixed to Irish statutes under the great seal of England) is said to have sufficiently *secured* the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland: but, on the contrary, that very circumstance is a proof of its frailty, by the application, to an *admitted evil*, of a weak and inadequate remedy; viz. the responsibility of an individual to the British parliament; and that law, instead of asserting the independence of Ireland, places her in a state of absolute dependence upon the British minister; and thus subjected to the possible wickedness or caprice of an individual, or a cabinet.

It was admitted in 1785, when the commercial propositions were rejected, that things could not remain as they were, that commercial jealousy might arise, and separation of interest lead to separation of connexion. No change has since taken place in the arrangement, therefore the danger must still remain the same; for, though partial evils have been remedied by separate laws, that mode is inadequate to remove the danger, because there is no security for the permanence of those laws; and because the exercise of distinct rights is liable to produce dissension between the two legislatures. The good sense, which has hitherto obviated the evil, has not annihilated the risk.

Ld. Auckland, & Addington, & Dean Tucker.

If the independence of Ireland be real, it presents a field for endless dissensions; and, if she chuses to exercise the power of dissent, the consequences must be contest, and, either separation, or the conquest of the weaker, with all its attendant misfortunes. If it be merely nominal, it will produce distrust, abhorrence, and suspicion; and will probably render the very connexion odious, and reduce Ireland to the necessity of submitting to the control of a British minister, no way accountable to her, but amenable only to the parliament of Great Britain. If it be between both, it combines the evils of both systems; so that, in any case, the present *disunion* furnishes a store of weapons to wound and sever a connexion so frail; a danger, which is now redoubled by the efforts of foreign and domestic enemies to effect a separation.

Smith.

Ld. Auckland, & Addington, & Dean Tucker, & Dundas.

Smith.

*Irish parliament not independent.*

Douglas, & Dundas.

But, in fact, the parliament of Ireland is not independent; it is in a state, not of shadowy, but of real and substantial subordination on the parliament of Great Britain. For, by that very act (21 and 22 George III.) which is boasted of by the adversaries of an union, as securing the connexion between the two kingdoms; it is ordained that no act of the Irish parliament,

parliament, whether it affect the empire at large, or regard only the moſt minute local concern, can paſs into a law, till it be returned under the great ſeal of England. The affixing of that ſeal is an executive, not a legiſlative act; and the miniſter who does ſo, does it at his peril, and liable to impeachment in the Britiſh parliament, if done amiſs. Thus is the Iriſh parliament under the abſolute control of the Britiſh, whilſt it claims a perfect equality of independence. That topic, then, ſo much inſiſted on, and ſo well ſuited to rouze a paſſionate oppoſition,—the loſs of independence—has no weight, for Ireland has no independence to loſe; and though the ſeparate parliaments loſe, each of them, their reſpective identity and diſtinctneſs, that of Ireland no more becomes dependent than the Britiſh; but both equally become proportionate parts of one whole.

The preſent ſituation is, what is called *Imperium in imperio*, a ſuppoſed independent government within an independent government, and this, all writers have agreed in condemning. Such was the firſt conſtitution of the American ſtates, when each ſtate was ſupreme and independent; but as ſoon as peace allowed time for reflection, the abſolute neceſſity appeared of remedying by conſolidation a conſtitution incapable of ſtanding. Such alſo is the conſtitution of the Swiſs Cantons, which incapacitated that nation from oppoſing with effect the intrigues or the violence of the French. Arguments for and againſt, &c.

The ſubordination of the Iriſh executive to Great Britain is more obvious ſtill, than that of the legiſlative body: the Lord Lieutenant acts in obedience to the King's commands, ſignified either in his commiſſion under the great ſeal of England, or by the King's letter, counterſigned by a ſecretary of ſtate, or, in revenue matters, by the lord treaſurer, or three lords of the treaſury. Douglas.

But the jealouſy of Ireland revolts at the practical exerciſe of theſe legal and conſtitutional powers; and, partly from this, partly from other cauſes, the government of England is ſuppoſed, in general caſes, to leave matters to the Iriſh parliament, and miniſters. From time to time, however, occaſions occur, where it is neceſſary for the Britiſh miniſters to act contrary perhaps to the ſentiments of the ſervants of the crown in Ireland. And, though in ſuch caſes the difficulty may often be ſurmounted by confidential intercourſe, or by the adoption of a middle way, ſo as not to alarm the dignity of Ireland, or commit the imperial authority reſident in England; yet ſituations have ariſen more than once, when the miniſtry have thought it their duty, without ſuch temperature, to exerciſe an immediate controling authority in Ireland; even under the hazard of rouzing the jealouſy, or affronting the high ſpirits of the leading perſons there. This dilemma, which has already occaſioned many difficulties, and will be the ſource of growing embarraſſments, is capable but of two remedies;

either the King must remove his residence to Ireland, which would only take off the difficulty from that country to throw it on Great Britain; or Ireland, by her representatives, must come to England, and thus place both countries, in theory as well as in effect, under the direction of the same ministers. But while the present system remains, no alteration can work a remedy. By indentification with Great Britain, Ireland will become truly independent, in sharing her independence, and will no longer be bound to follow, tamely and subserviently, a will that is not her own. This can be no otherwise effected than by an union, unless it be by separation; supposing even that she had means and strength in that situation to preserve herself independent, which is not possible. Were the British islands separated, neither of them could subsist against any enemy combined with the other, nor supply sufficient means of defence against his inroads. It is evident that, in case of war, the weaker of the two would be more exposed to danger; and, though for a while, she might perhaps maintain herself by the mean arts of intrigue, she would be a constant bone of contention to surrounding nations, and at last would be forced to fly for refuge to her more powerful neighbours, either England or France; and either actually submit to her authority, or at least, by virtually yielding to her influence, lose her own independency.

Lord Minto.

Douglas. There is another striking instance, in proof of the subordinate condition of Ireland; she is *obliged* to take part in all the wars of Great Britain, for the King's declaration of war involves all his dominions; she is exposed to all the risks and dangers of war; she may lose one of her provinces, or herself become a province to an enemy; and yet she cannot acquire an acre of territory; every conquest made, though perhaps at the expence of Irish blood, and Irish treasure, belongs solely to Great Britain. Ireland cannot either plant a colony, or establish a foreign settlement.

Smith. It is a mistaken expression, to say that by an union the Irish parliament would merge in that of Great Britain; it merges in the imperial legislature, and an union merely changes the residence of the legislature of Ireland, leaving to it still, in partnership with that of Great Britain, the direction of Irish affairs.

*Two legislatures not similar to two houses of parliament.*

The separate deliberation of the two independent parliaments, is very erroneously compared to that of the two houses of the same parliament. These latter are connected together and consolidated into one body,* by having, for a middle term, the third estate, and, in case of disagreement, the measure merely falls to the ground, and no mischief ensues; but there is no bond of union between two bodies each complete and independent;

Smith.

* Foster, 31.

independent; there is no middle term to connect them, and should a disagreement occur between them, and should each parliament, having a right to pursue its own measures, think proper to adhere with tenacity to its own designs, a contest must be the consequence; and in such a case, the great seal would be but a pitiful guardian to the connexion. That disagreement is possible, the transactions of 1785 and 1789 evince; at the latter period the coincidence, in the person of the regent, was accidental; for the precipitation of Ireland waited not for his appointment in England; nor was any person, in fact, actually named in that kingdom, the King's fortunate recovery having happened just in time to prevent it. But, though the person had been the same, the disparity in the limitation of his prerogative would have given the two countries an executive government, with different constitutional powers in each; an evil, which is admitted by the late regency bill, to have existed.

Besides, if a difference of opinion should arise between the two houses of parliament, they have not only much greater facility of discussion, and mutual explanation, but identity of interest between them is much more direct and sensible, than that between two separate kingdoms, though they be connected in and form parts of the same empire. It is true, that to a certain degree, the separate legislatures may afford a check upon each other, similar to those of the three branches of parliament upon each other; yet, it must be of a very imperfect nature, having no formal or legal constitution; and can have no more force or efficacy than those checks upon each other, which prevail in the relation of different states, having a common interest, but without any link of connexion, and which serve to maintain what is called the balance of power. Douglas.

A local parliament has been compared also, for the local knowledge, of which it is supposed to be possessed, to a jury, which, on the same account was formerly obliged to be selected from that spot, which was thought to furnish local knowledge of the circumstances to be tried; but the wisdom of legislators, finding the neighbourhood of a culprit too much exposed to prejudice, passion and party spirit to allow of justice, have thought it expedient in latter and more liberal times, to enlarge his vicinage to the whole county, and so to give a greater field for the selection of a jury; or, if it be suspected that a fair trial cannot there be had, they have allowed to *change the venue* to another place, where equal local knowledge may be exerted with less danger of prejudice. In like manner, to carry on the comparison, the Irish parliament, combined in the imperial, may possess all the local knowledge that they could obtain in their own country, and be at the same time exempt from local danger and local prejudice.

In

*Diſtance no impediment.*

Douglas.

In ſome caſes, diſtance may preſent an inſuperable impediment to the union of legiſlatures, as in that of America, where the experiment was ſtrongly recommended by Adam Smith; and in many others: but this objection will not apply to Ireland, for that country, though ſeparated by a ſea, is in the neighbourhood of Great Britain alone; and is ſeparated from all other countries by an immenſe ſpace. Its capital is nearer to that of England than Edinburgh, and notwithſtanding the intervention of a ſea, the journey thither from London uſually occupies a ſhorter ſpace of time; the moſt diſtant towns of Ireland, that are of any note, as Cork, Limerick, Londonderry, &c. are not ſo far from the metropolis of the empire as many towns in Scotland.

To theſe conſiderations ſhould be added, the many important inducements to intercourſe and incorporation, between Great Britain and Ireland, which did not exiſt in the caſe of Scotland: the ſame ſyſtem of laws, civil and commercial; the ſame rules of property; ſimilar tribunals; extenſive conſanguinity and intermarriages; the great and increaſing number of thoſe, who, by ſucceſſion or acquiſition, have become owners of land in both countries; the ſame eſtabliſhed religion; the ſame courſe of education; and ſeveral others, which infinitely outweigh any conſideration of territorial contiguity.

*The purſe of Ireland not the object ſought in an Union.*

Smith.

It is an abſurd ſuppoſition, that the object of an union is to place the purſe of Ireland in the hands of the Britiſh miniſter: it is already open to him, to the extent of its abilities, and the efforts of the miniſter have ever been directed to lighten the burthens of the people, not to increaſe them beyond the power to bear. But if ſuch were his deſign, even that would afford a certain proof of the ſincerity of his opinion, that the proſperity of Ireland will be increaſed by an union, for he would ſcarcely graſp at a purſe, and take meaſures at the ſame time to prevent its being filled: an empty purſe is ſeldom an object of deſire.

*Parliament cannot reſcind the treaty afterwards.*

Douglas.

That the *omnipotence of parliament* has power to reſcind hereafter any of the articles of compact, is a falſe aſſertion, as it ſhall preſently be proved;* but, were it true, it would equally furniſh an argument againſt the ſtability of any law, or treaty, or compact, and would overturn the principles of civil ſociety; and, beſides, ſuch a violation of the compact being a ſubverſion of the conſtitution, is one of thoſe extreme caſes, which would abſolve the ſubject from his allegiance, and juſtify an appeal to the ſword. Nor is there any foundation for imagining that, on account of the great majority of the Britiſh members of the legiſlature, the repreſentatives of Ireland would be outvoted on all occaſions of competition, and Ireland oppreſſed at the pleaſure of the ſtronger fry.

* Foſter, Gould, 32, 33.

party. This would, at least, amount to an infraction of the treaty, and therefore to a dissolution of the union; but also, such a conspiracy is impracticable, because when the two countries are identified, there cannot exist any clashing of separate interests to occasion competition for power or profit. Both these suppositions are refuted too, by experience, in the case of Scotland; for, as to those instances produced, as breaches of the compact of union with Scotland, they have no existence in fact. The imposition of an income tax, in the proportion of one eighth to that of South Britain, in lieu of a land-tax, which, it was covenanted, should not exceed a fortieth, was certainly no infringement of the *letter*, and it was the exact accomplishment of the *spirit* and end of the treaty, which was to proportion the taxes of Scotland to her means. The objections to the malt-tax were merely, like other attempts of the violence of faction,* to serve the purpose of the day, no matter at what risk. When party ran extremely high in 1713, the Scotch representatives were persuaded to lay hold of one of the secondary clauses in the treaty of union, one of doubtful construction, and which at best was to be but of a temporary and short duration,† then virtually expired; and to raise a cry, that the articles of union, in favour of Scotland, were infringed, and even to bring forward a motion for the dissolution of the treaty.

*Treaty with Scotland religiously observed.*

Douglas.

In fact, that treaty, as will be confessed by every candid man, versed in the history of his country, has, in all its clear and important parts, all its fundamental and essential conditions, been adhered to, with sacred and scrupulous inviolability.

The example of Scotland is rejected by the adversaries of an union, upon the grounds of a difference in the situation of Scotland from that of Ireland,‡ which renders that unnecessary to the latter, which was absolutely requisite to the other; and of the great improvement of Scotland since the period of union being ascribable to other causes, rather than to the effects of that measure.

*Case of Scotland not dissimilar.*

Smith.

Scotland, they say, was driven by a series of repeated injuries the most intolerable, and by the constant jealousies of England, to such a state of hostility, as left no alternative, but union or separation. But the same reasoning applies, equally, to Ireland; the partial and oppressive conduct of Britain for a long series of years; the repeated injuries offered to the victualling trade of Ireland, which she harassed with her embargoes; the jealous tenor of almost all her transactions, and almost an equal danger of separation, render an union in this case equally necessary, as the only remedy that can be found. The union of the crowns of England and Scotland in the same

* Spencer, 34. ‡ Anon. 37.
‡ Foster, Spencer, Rudd, Bousfield, Cecil, 33.

same person, (which, but for the change made in the royal line of succession, by the abdication of James II. would have continued unalterable in the house of Stuart) was, at least, as durable a bond of connexion as that which keeps united the crowns of Great Britain and Ireland, viz. the annexation act, and the great seal. There was, in fact, no such difference between the constitutions of England and Scotland, as is said to have existed, and to have rendered an union necessary on account of the violentness of the latter; there was, indeed, but one house of parliament in Scotland, but that was composed of three estates; (1. *Nobles*. 2. *Barons*, i. e. representatives for shires, and 3. *Burrows*, or members for boroughs.† ;) and, as the votes of each estate were taken separately, and a majority was required of each, it thus became impossible for the Crown to create a forced majority, by the privilege of adding at pleasure to the number of the peers. As to the lords of articles, that institution had been abolished many years before the union, by an act of the Scotch parliament; and was no more a part of the constitution of Scotland in 1707 than the star-chamber was at that time of the English constitution.

Douglas. Scotland made much greater sacrifices, for the purpose of obtaining an union, than any that are expected from Ireland, or that are in her power to make. Ireland has not been, for many centuries, free and independent of England; Scotland never had been subdued to her, nor under her control. Scotland gave up, what Ireland *cannot* give up, an independent parliament of King, Lords and Commons, and an *independent separate crown*. These sacrifices were made, at the time, indeed, Douglas, & Dundas. with great reluctance; and so strong was the hostility of the Scotch to the measure, that many violent insurrections took place. An army, even, of 7000 men was levied in the west, and was ready to march against the parliament; and the Duke of Queensbury, with other ministers, who took an active part in carrying the union into effect, were so attacked by the populace, as to escape narrowly with their lives; while the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Belhaven, and others of the most inveterate opponents to it, became the idols of the people, and were carried in triumph through the streets of Edinburgh.

*Scotch Union soon became popular.* Yet so quickly were the sentiments of the Scotch nation changed, with regard to that measure, when experience had made them acquainted with its happy effects, that only eight years after it had been concluded, in the midst of such violent clamour, the union had obtained the most universal popularity; insomuch that the pretender, having pledged himself in a public manifesto, to repeal the act of union, was obliged in 1719, to expunge that promise, in order to preserve the favour of his adherents.

The

† Spencer, Goold, Bousfield, 34.

The event of an union would, probably, be similar in Ireland; and how great soever the unpopularity which attends it now, a few years would remove the delusion of the nation, and make clear its good consequences.

*Scotch Union long prevented by France.*

It is remarkable that the many attempts made towards an union, first of the crowns, and afterwards of the parliaments of England and Scotland, from the time of Henry VIII. down to the second year of Queen Anne, have been constantly frustrated through the means of French influence and intrigue; and England was first induced to become zealous for its accomplishment, by the ill effects that she experienced from French intrigue in Scotland; in order to remove entirely the influence of the French party. Ireland, by various accidents, is fallen into a situation exactly similar. France labours, by every means, to form a connexion in that country, and has, in a great measure, succeeded. But French influence was by no means as mischievous in 1707 as it is in 1800; France was not then the advocate of sedition in the abstract, and the general ally of all rebellious subjects. As the surest method of putting an end to this dangerous conspiracy, by a consolidation of the powers of the whole empire, a legislative union with Great Britain is proposed.

Dundas.

Smith,

& Dundas, &c. &c.

*Improvement of Scotland due to the Union.*

The great improvement of Scotland since the period of the union, it is said, should not be attributed to that measure, because society has been every where, during that time, in a state of rapid improvement; and because the progress of Ireland in prosperity, without an union, has in the same period been still greater. It is not possible to determine,* exactly, how far the prosperity of Scotland may be attributable to the union; but it is fair to conclude, that, if she has improved during that period, in a proportion relatively greater than the improvement of England,† the cause of this excess may be ascribed to the effects of the union, and, if the advancement of England have surpassed that of North Britain, her superior opulence is owing to the superiority of her natural advantages, which were too great to be overbalanced by the benefits derived to Scotland from an union. But without an union Scotland could not have made such progress in improvement, as to have kept pace with the general advances of society; because the circumstances attending her local situation, and external policy, prevented her from having any part in the growing prosperity of other countries, as long as the continued separate; so it was ably argued in the Scotch parliament by Mr. Seton, one of the commissioners of the union. To this

Smith.

Douglas.

Dundas.

* Foster, 86.

† The customs and excise of Scotland have increased between 1707 and 1797, upwards of *twenty fold*, while those of England have not been multiplied above *three times*. For the particulars of this detail, see the speeches of the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, and the Right Hon. Sylvester Douglas.

may be added the following well known fact, that the proſperity of Scotland took riſe in the weſtern parts, and near the ports, beſt ſuited to the colonial trade, which was firſt opened to Scotland by the union.

Douglas. Again it is objected, that, whatever may have been the improvement of Scotland in the laſt ninety years, Ireland,* on the other hand, has made ſtill more rapid progreſs. This aſſertion has been much inſiſted on, but a cloſer inſpection will ſhew that it is not founded in fact. No compariſon can well be drawn between any particular branches of improvement, in thoſe two countries, but a fair eſtimate may be made from the ſtate of the public revenue in each. It will be found that Scotland with a ſmaller population, a leſs fertile ſoil, a climate leſs temperate, and ports for foreign trade much inferior, pays a ſhare of public contribution equal in amount to the revenue of Ireland, and which is, at the leaſt, not a greater burthen to her people than the taxes of Ireland are to her ſubjects; from thence it is a fair inference that the wealth of Scotland is not inferior to that of Ireland.

*Population no teſt of improvement.* As to the population of Ireland, which is alſo urged as a teſt of her flouriſhing condition, its ſuperiority is admitted; but it affords no proof of ſuperior proſperity, and tends only to give additional ſtrength to the above argument, from the greater difficulty under which Scotland labors in that particular alſo. The accuracy of thoſe calculations, however, appears very queſtionable; they ſeem in general to exaggerate the population of Ireland, and to underrate conſiderably that of Scotland. †

*Adam Smith's opinion,* It was the opinion of the learned and ſagacious Dr. Adam Smith, that an union would procure for Ireland, beſide commercial, many other important advantages; § and that without ſuch a meaſure the inhabitants of the two countries were not likely for ages to coaleſce as one people.

Addington. To his opinion may be added, the authority of ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed and enlightened men of the laſt century, by whom that meaſure was approved and recommended; of *and thoſe of others.* Sir Matthew Decker, Sir William Petty, Sir Joſiah Child; and Molineux, who incurred the diſpleaſure of the Engliſh Houſe of Commons, for his bold aſſertion of the independence of his native country, thought the proſpect of Iriſh repreſentatives being admitted to the Parliament of England, "*too* "*great a happineſs to be hoped for by Ireland,*" however it might be wiſhed.

Anon. In the preſent century, it has been recommended by many able writers and ſtateſmen, of various political attachments: Addington, Doctor Campbell, Dean Tucker, Lord Egmont, Lord Hillſ- & Douglas. borough, Lord Sackville, Lord North, &c. The opinion held by

* Foſter, Spencer, 85, 86.

† For the diſcuſſion of this ſubject, ſee Mr. Sylveſter Douglas's Speech, p. 18.

§ Anon. 35.

by these great politicians with regard to the value of an union, is corroborated by the testimony of M'Nevin, and his associates in rebellion,* whose fears have expressed *their* conviction of its tendency to strengthen the empire, and to prevent that separation being effected, which has been the uniform object of their endeavours.

*Ireland's prosperity Britain's interest.*

But why, it is asked, does Britain make an *offer* of such great advantages to Ireland, and of a participation in such mighty benefits?

Dean Tucker,

Because she perceives her own interest equally concerned in the prosperity and the *security* of Ireland: because her interests are inseparable from those of Ireland, and Ireland's strength is Britain's strength, Ireland's greatness is Britain's glory; and because she has found, that a closer union is made now more requisite than ever, by the repeated attempts of enemies, to dissolve the connexion. Precautionary wisdom seldom has much influence on the conduct either of individuals, or nations; an evil, in general, must have been painfully felt, before measures are taken to remove it, or to guard against its recurrence.

& Addington, & Douglas, & Peel.

Addington.

*Concessions dangerous, when separation is possible.*

When the commercial propositions were brought forward in 1785, they were opposed by all the commercial interests of Great Britain, because, while Ireland had separate interests, (as, with a separate legislature, she must have, since there is then a *possibility* of actual separation) such an arrangement might have been highly prejudicial to the manufactures of Great Britain: but the present plan, while it affords the highest advantages, political and commercial, prevents, by uniting the two countries into one, the possibility of separate interests existing; and therefore meets the approbation of the trading body of Britain. The same opinions were prevalent, so long since as the reign of Charles II. as is apparent in the answer to certain complaints made by the Scotch, of more favour being shewn to Ireland, than to their country: the commissioners stated in reply, "that Ireland was an appendage of the crown of England, was bound by the laws, and under the absolute control of England, and that, *therefore*, any favour might safely be granted to her, but that the separate state and independence of Scotland would not allow of the same treatment."

Peel.

Dundas.

The case is now reversed, and the altered relation in which Ireland stands, makes it dangerous to grant the advantages, which would accrue to her from an Union, without the accompanying security of that measure. It admits, however, of a doubt, whether in a separate state Ireland be capable of profiting by such concessions, if made, without a communication of the capital of Great Britain.—But, in case of an union, though Great Britain will communicate her capital and industry to Ireland, they cannot be expected to flow in with

*Communication of capital cannot hurt Britain.*

Douglas.

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* Meeting at Francis-street chapel, April 9, 1795. See Report of Secret Committee.

with ſuch rapidity, as to effect any inſtant benefit to the one, or to occaſion any loſs or detriment to the other; becauſe capital and induſtry, ſo localized, are not eaſily influenced, at once to change their ſituation. Gradually, however, much wealth, capital and credit, will be attracted to Ireland, when uniformity of laws and legiſlature, give an increaſe of confidence to ſpeculatiſts and moneyed men; and this gradual benefit reaped by Ireland, inſtead of injuring the intereſts of individuals in England, will tend according to the known principles of public wealth, by multiplying the returns of profit, in and between both countries, to increaſe the riches of each.

*Engliſh capital to ſpare.* Douglas.

Some men have advanced an opinion, that the capital of England, is already ſo fully employed, that there is none to ſpare: but this cannot be reconciled with the eagerneſs conſtantly diſplayed, in purſuit of every new ſpeculation;—with the ſmall return of profit,* that many men are content to receive, in adventures ſubject to hazard and riſk;—with the immenſe ſums conſtantly inveſted in the funds, even when the dividends fall below 5 per cent.—or with the known fact, that a large proportion of foreign trade is carried on with Britiſh capital, excluſive of that portion, which, even under the preſent forbidding circumſtances, is engaged in the commerce of Ireland.

*No danger from the increaſe of the parliament.* Douglas.

Neither is there any more foundation for the imaginary evil, that is apprehended for Great Britain, from the increaſed number of the members of the legiſlature. ‡ It is notorious, that the parliament poſſeſſes, and has ever been uſed to exerciſe the power of adding to, or diminiſhing the number of its members; and that no inconvenience has reſulted from it. And the Scotch union is a remarkable inſtance in point, when an addition of *forty five* members was made to the Houſe of Commons, without any inconvenient conſequences ariſing from it. In addition to this, it may be obſerved, how very ſmall a difference is occaſioned to the convenience of gentlemen, (and none to the buſineſs of the Houſe) by the moſt extreme fluctuation of the number of attending members, between 50 and 500.

The apprehenſion of the Britiſh Legiſlature being debaſed and corrupted by the intermixture of ſo many Iriſhmen in its body, is an argument that cannot be ſeriouſly urged by any one, who has any knowledge of the higher ranks of the Iriſh nation, or who has witneſſed the many inſtances in which the natives of Ireland have become members of the Britiſh Parliament, and by their ſplendid talents, have ſhed a luſtre upon that body, of which they have formed ſo diſtinguiſhed a part.

Edgeworth.

But beſides it muſt be recollected that as the Iriſh members to be added to the Britiſh Houſe of Commons will be thoſe, who.

repreſent

*Even ſo low as 5 per cent. (though the fair return in mercantile concerns are calculated on the LOWEST eſtimate at 10 PER CENT.

‡ Spencer, Goold, Taaffe, Bousfield, Weld, 36.

repreſent the counties of Ireland, with ſome others of the moſt independent in the Iriſh Legiſlature, there can be no grounds to apprehend from them any dangerous increaſe of miniſterial influence, for men of that deſcription are in general the leaſt liable to corruption. But inſtead of adding to the corruption, an union will ſerve to effect a ſalutary reform of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons. It may be ſuppoſed that of the 300 Members, there are in the Iriſh Houſe 80 or 90 county and city Members, and in the Britiſh parliament 180 county and city members out of the 558. In the one Houſe there is not nearly a third, in the other not more than a third of county and city members; but in the united Parliament the proportion would be materially altered: inſtead of one-third (or three-ninths) compoſed of county and city members, there would be four-ninths, which is nearer to one-half than to one-third. This of itſelf would ſerve to purify the Engliſh Commons; but it would alſo afford an excellent opportunity of cutting off from that Houſe 100 of the borough members without any inconvenience; thus leaving a conſiderable majority of county and city members in the united Parliament, without diminiſhing the influence of the crown, to any dangerous degree, for influence is far preferable to prerogative. It will be a further advantage to ſupply their place by 100 new members from Ireland, rather than from Engliſh counties, where eſtabliſhed families would thus acquire too great an increaſe of influence. Nor can it be imagined that the intereſt of Ireland ſhould be neglected by her repreſentatives at one ſide of the channel, more than at the other. The name of abſentee will not prevent a man from attending to the intereſt of his own property, though it be divided from him by ten or twenty leagues of ſea.—Beſides it is probable that the younger branches of noble and opulent abſentees, will come over to Ireland after an union, to manage the affairs, and to repreſent the families of their Engliſh relatives.

Another objection is drawn from the neceſſary imperfection of the union that would be enacted; ſince it is not poſſible, entirely to aſſimilate the two countries, with regard to revenue, taxes, &c. But to this, the caſe of Scotland affords a direct reply; for there a union, was to all intents and purpoſes, effected, notwithſtanding the difference of taxation, and what ſeems of much greater moment, and was objected to by all the judges under James I. with the exception of Sir Francis Bacon, as an inſurmountable impediment,—the difference of laws, and of the modes of adminiſtering juſtice. But it never was ſuppoſed, that the union of England with Wales, or with Lancaſhire, was imperfect, becauſe Wales and Lancaſhire have each rules of property, forms of judicature, cuſtoms and uſages, appropriate; which of courſe, form a difference, between their ſituation and that of England. The town of Calais was ſeparated by a ſea, and diſtinguiſhed by the preſervation of all its Douglas.

local

local cuſtoms; yet the union of Calais with England was not objected to as imperfect, when it was admitted, by the charter of Henry VIII. to ſend two Burgeſſes to ſit in the Parliament of England.

*Preſent time not improper.*

Many, even of thoſe who expreſs a wiſh that an union may, at ſome future period, take place, * object to the preſent, as an improper time for the introduction of the meaſure, and deſire rather to wait for the moment of general tranquillity: but the preſent time is ſuch as to render this, which at any other ſeaſon might be a wiſe meaſure, now a *neceſſary* one. This is evidently demonſtrated by the *avowed fears* of an union being effected, which are entertained by thoſe, who have openly profeſſed themſelves the advocates of ſeparation; by Tone, Emmet, M'Nevin, &c. The apprehenſions ſtill felt on this ſubject, by their aſſociates, whoſe deſperate attempts are too recent to be forgotten, proclaim a *ſpeedy union*, or a *ſeparation* to be the only alternative.

A moment of general tranquillity may be expected for ever; it is not likely to be obtained by any other means than this meaſure, which muſt, therefore, firſt take place before the effect can follow. The Scotch union was completed during a foreign war of great magnitude, and at a ſeaſon of as much political difficulty and internal diſſenſion as the preſent.

And it cannot, with any colour of truth, be objected, that Ireland is taken by ſurpriſe, or that a novel meſaure is ſuddenly introduced; for, not to ſpeak of the actual incorporation under the uſurpation of Cromwell, an union was recommended by the Council of Trade in Ireland, ſo early as the year 1676, in the reign of Charles II. It was long a very favourite object of Ireland under Queen Anne, and the Iriſh Parliament failed, in repeated endeavours, to obtain it. After that period, it became a ſubject of general diſcuſſion, and gave riſe to numerous publications; and it has ever ſince been familiar to the ears of the Iriſh, and has been the ſubject of various works, publiſhed at different periods of time. Never till now, was a ſuſpicion entertained by any writer, ſpeaker, or ſtateſman, of the incompetency of Parliament to carry it into effect.

*Parliament is competent.*

Pitt, & Douglas, & Smith.

The competence of Parliament to debate, or to adopt the ſcheme of a legiſlative union, cannot be diſputed without calling in queſtion the conſtitutional exiſtence of the united kingdom of Great Britain † and the legality of its legiſlature ſince the period of the Scotch Union, for the plea of incompetence muſt be equally applicable to the Parliaments of that day, as to the preſent. But ſuch a doctrine would ſhake the title of the royal family to the throne (the act of ſettlement) and is a republican principle, degradatory to the Parliament, and ſubverſive of the conſtitution. The power of Parliament has no limits, but in the uſefulneſs of the meaſure; all queſtions, therefore,

* Spencer, Bouſfield, Weld, Sheehy, &c. 63.
† Spencer, Taaffe, Bouſfield, Goold, 36.

therefore, are open to *diſcuſſion* and *inveſtigation*, becauſe the demonſtration of utility brings any meaſure within the ſphere of parliamentary competence to achieve.

But the boaſted and valuable ſettlement of 1782, was made by Parliament. How then can a doubt be entertained of the competency of Parliament to make changes in the legiſlature of the kingdom, when the whole conſtitution of Parliament was changed by that very ſettlement? If Parliament was authorized in 1782, to make ſuch an agreement for the benefit of Ireland, ſo muſt the preſent Parliament. But, it is aſſumed that an Union is a dereliction of the rights and liberties of the people; and then it is argued, juſtly upon that aſſumption, that Parliament is not competent to enact it, becauſe, though capable of negociating for what is advantageous, Parliament cannot ſurrender the rights or liberties of the people. If the premiſes were true, the concluſion muſt follow; but the premiſes are not true; they are indeed aſſumed but not proved, and it is abſurd to ſay that any deviation however advantageous from the ſettlement of 1782 is impoſſible: the Iriſh legiſlature has not ſurely loſt the power of doing good, or of diſtinguiſhing good from evil. Edgeworth.

But, if not in Parliament, where can the power to effect any meaſure be imagined to reſide? Not in the conſtituent body, for they cannot be ſuppoſed to have delegated a truſt, with a tacit reſervation in particular caſes; nor does the conſtitution of Great Britain and Ireland acknowledge, in that body, any power or right of deliberation whatever; their entire function conſiſts in the act of election of their repreſentative, and with that act it ends; though it be always the duty of the latter, without doubt, to pay a certain attention to the wiſhes of his conſtituents, and the opinions of the people. It is from the incompetency of the people at large, to decide upon acts of government, and from the phyſical impoſſibility of their deliberation, that has ariſen the inſtitution of Parliament, or the nomination of perſons authorized by the people *to act in all caſes for them*: if therefore, in any inſtance, the power were to revert to the people, it would occaſion what is called *the vicious circle*; for, from the ſame cauſe as at the firſt, it muſt again return to the repreſentatives, and ſo, it might for ever perform the ſame courſe from the one body to the other, and back again: but the greater the magnitude and importance of the ſubject, the greater is the abſurdity of ſuppoſing it to revert to the deciſion of thoſe, who had deputed the power to decide in matters of inferior moment, becauſe they were judged, by the conſtitution, to be incompetent themſelves. The Houſe of Commons, in all legiſlative matters, is equivalent to the people at large; and therefore, as the Parliament conſiſts of three branches, King, Lords and Commons, if it were neceſſary on *any* occaſion to recur to the conſent of the people, who are equivalent to *one* only of theſe branches, that act would deſtroy the equilibrium, extinguiſh the legiſlative capacity Addington, & Douglas. Douglas. Lord Minto. Smith.

pacity of the King and the Peerage, and annihilate the conſtitution.

Addington, & Douglas. The power then cannot reſt in the people at large, for ſuch a ſuppoſition would imply a diſſolution of the government. It is an eſtabliſhed truth, that while the conſtitution exiſts, the *only legitimate* ſanction of public opinion, and its *only* efficient authority muſt be derived from the Parliament. The extent and abſolute ſupremacy of parliamentary power are aſſerted by the higheſt legal authorities, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Matthew Hale, Sir William Blackſtone, Lord Somers and others, who, to ſay the leaſt, have never been ſuſpected of any bias againſt the conſtitution and liberties of their country.

Douglas, To aſſert that there are acts, which, however beneficial, the conſtitutional legiſlature has not the right to perform, without a previous ſpecial commiſſion from the maſs of the nation, leads directly to the falſe and miſchievous principle of the ſovereignty of the people: a principle, which is proved, by all attempts to put it in practice, either by the ancient Jacquerie in France, by the Wat Tylers and Jack Straws of England, or by the Jacobins of modern France, to be as pernicious and as impoſſible in fact, as in theory the ſuppoſition is abſurd.

There are no caſes where the powers of the people at large begin, though there may exiſt ſome extraordinary caſes, which the legiſlature cannot reach; but ſuch a circumſtance, inſtead of conveying a rightful power to the people, would occaſion a diſſolution of the conſtitution and government, and give riſe to anarchy.

There are caſes of another deſcription, to which the ſupreme power of the legiſlature, in our conſtitution, cannot reach; but this ariſes not from any ſuppoſed compact, but from the moral impoſſibility of the act, or an implied contradiction of terms: for inſtance, no law of any Parliament can bind a ſubſequent Parliament, for ſuch an act muſt ſuppoſe the next Parliament leſs abſolute and ſupreme than the preſent, but the conſtitution gives them equal powers.

Again, in the caſe of an Union or incorporation of diſtinct parts, enacted by the legiſlature, by treaty or otherwiſe, Parliament is there incompetent to decompoſe and ſeparate them again: becauſe, the eſſential condition of ſuch Union being the combination of each of the conſtituent parts into a new whole, the identical characters and qualities of thoſe parts are ſo loſt, that they can no more afterwards be found, or reſtored; the contracting parties ceaſe to exiſt, and therefore become incapable of being reinſtated.

And this affords a ſufficient anſwer to the apprehenſions of Britain's aſſuming to herſelf, hereafter, the right of ſetting aſide at her pleaſure any incorporation of the two kingdoms. Ireland may, by civil convulſion or foreign force, be torn aſunder from her; ſo may Scotland, or Wales; but it never

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can be disjoined by any regular act of the united legiſlature. It is in the power of the common Parliament to alter or repeal any act of either Parliament, made previous to the Union, but it cannot alter or reſcind any fundamental article of the treaty by which they are united, becauſe the parties, by whom it was concluded, no longer exiſt; nor is it poſſible for either to return, at ſuch diſſolution, to the ſame ſituation, as they were in before their Union took place.

But, ſay the advocates of parliamentary incompetence, the members of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons were delegated to exerciſe, but not to alienate the powers committed to them; —to ſupport the independence, and excluſive authority of Ireland; and therefore, they have no power to make ſurrender of that independence and authority, into the hands of the Britiſh legiſlature, which on account of the great majority of the Britiſh above the Iriſh members, would, in effect, poſſeſs alone, ſupreme power. Both this alleged fact, and the inference of incompetency, are controverted by the example of Scotland. It is well known, with regard to the former, that, though Scotland has but forty-five repreſentatives, yet, on all local queſtions where the intereſts of their country have been particularly concerned, they have always been able to influence the deciſion of the houſe. Reſpecting the ſuppoſed incompetency of the repreſentative body, it is further argued, in order to obviate the inſtance of Scotland, that the act of Union paſſed by the Scotch Parliament either is become valid now by the length of time which has ſince elapſed and has ſanctioned it, as it were, by preſcription, from long acquieſcence;—or that it was made ſo at firſt by an expreſs power or commiſſion being given to the Scotch repreſentatives for the purpoſe. & Dundas. Dundas, & Douglas,

But no preſcription can render that valid, which was at the firſt a mere nullity; and if that argument be admitted, every law ſince enacted, depending for its validity, on the validity of that tranſaction, is equally null and void; and, as a neceſſary conſequence, it will follow that the preſent legiſlature of Great Britain has no legitimate authority:—a dangerous abſurdity! & Smith.

The obvious weakneſs of this argument has obliged gentlemen to reſort to a ſuppoſed ſpecial delegation from the conſtituent body to their repreſentatives. But, as before ſaid, the incompatibility of ſuch a tranſaction with the conſtitution, is ſuch that no validity or force could thence be derived to any act that was not valid without it, nor could that body grant to the elected any powers, beyond thoſe incident to the character of repreſentative. Douglas.

Beſides, it is eaſy to ſhew that no ſuch thing was attempted in Scotland in 1707; nor was the neceſſity, or poſſibility of it conceived to exiſt, with regard to any treaty ſince the acceſſion of James VI. to the crown of England; though it does ſeem as if ſuch a thing were intimated in an obſcure paſſage of *No ſpecial delegation to the Scotch deputies, for an Union.*

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De Foe, by whom alone it is even hinted. The fact was thus. The convention of eſtates in Scotland, which met on the abdication of James II. continued undiſſolved through the whole reign of William, and were ſummoned by Queen Anne, a few months after her acceſſion. At the time when this anomalous aſſembly was nominated, no meaſure of Union was in agitation; but, as ſoon as it met after King William's demiſe, it paſſed an act, in conſequence of a ſimilar act paſſed by the Engliſh Parliament, empowering the Queen to appoint commiſſioners for Scotland, to treat of an Union. Commiſſioners, on the part of each kingdom, met at Weſtminſter in October, 1702. Mean while the Scotch convention was diſſolved, but the commiſſion ſtill continued in full force, and no want of competency was urged againſt it. Soon after, a proclamation was iſſued in Scotland calling a new Parliament, in which it was curſorily mentioned that "commiſſioners *had been nomi-* "*nated* to treat of an Union, &c." as it was alſo in the ſame way, that "the Queen was engaged in a juſt and neceſſary "war." This ſlight paſſage is the only one that affords the leaſt grounds for the aſſertion of a ſpecial delegation; and the ſimilar paſſage relative to the war, then carried on, may furniſh as good a proof of the neceſſity of a ſpecial notice to electors and a ſpecial delegation on that head alſo, which will ſcarcely be alleged: and no notice was taken, in any way, of ſo unuſual a circumſtance as that would have been, if the proclamation had intended to require particular inſtructions to be given to the repreſentatives. But the proclamation gives no particular directions; neither do the ſummonſes of election, the returns, (or as they are called in Scotland the commiſſions) —the minutes of election, or the corporation books bear the ſlighteſt marks of any thing ſpecial. Hiſtory, memoirs, tradition, and the act of the Scotch Parliament are all ſilent on that head. In 1703 this Parliament voted the commiſſion, then exiſting, to be terminate and extinct; and in 1705 the Queen, being again empowered by *that* Parliament, as well as by the Engliſh Parliament, appointed new commiſſioners, and by them, without any further communication with the people, the treaty was executed in 1706: the articles were ratified in 1707, and took effect on the firſt of May in that year, and there was no other election or delegation of power whatever.*

*Ireland will be proportionably repreſented.*

But the inequality in the numbers of the Iriſh and Britiſh members of the common Parliament does not evince any dereliction or ſurrender of her authority on the part of Ireland,† becauſe each country being ſtill repreſented preſerves its own power

* For a more particular detail, ſee the Speech of the Rt. Hon. Sylveſter Douglas, April 22, 1799, Page 18, et ſeq.

† Foſter, 33.

power of legiſlation, though at the ſame time either gives and mutually receives a power of legiſlation over the other; and this power is exactly equal, provided the repreſentatives be in exact proportion to the relative conſequence of each country reſpectively. Were a perfect arithmetical equality of numbers requiſite, the incorporation of the whole legiſlature of Ireland, as it now ſtands, would be inſufficient to effect a legal Union: but ſuch an incorporation would be highly unjuſt, becauſe it would give Ireland much more than her due proportion of influence.

The eſſential principles of the conſtitution, are, in both countries the ſame; and the legiſlature of the empire may be conſidered as one great machine conſiſting of a ſupreme head, and two branches, each ſimilarly divided into two parts: one of theſe branches regulates the affairs of Great Britain and the general concerns of the empire at large; the other legiſlates only, but excluſively for Ireland. This machine, it appears, might be greatly ſimplified, and therefore materially improved, by blending, in due proportion, theſe two ſeparate members into one, which, by one act, could adjuſt the concern of the whole ſtate; thus lending to each other additional ſtrength, and removing the poſſibility of weakneſs and diſtraction of councils.

# *AGAINST* A LEGISLATIVE UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND;

## ARGUMENTS *POLITICAL, RESPECTING THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF IRELAND,* IN CONNEXION AND INTERCOURSE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

*Settlement of 1782 final and adequate.*

Foster;

THE expreſſions * made uſe of, in the reſolutions of both Houſes of the Iriſh Parliament, on the occaſion of the ſettlement of 1782 † in their addreſs to the King and the Lord Lieutenant, and in both the anſwers to theſe addreſſes, are ſuch as afford ample proofs, that that adjuſtment was regarded as *final*, and was deemed ſufficient; for it is repeatedly termed *a full and perfect eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution of Ireland; an indiſſoluble connexion in unity of intereſts, and unity of conſtitution;—from which, no conſtitutional queſtion can ever avail to diſturb the harmony of the two kingdoms, &c. &c.*

When Mr. Flood moved for leave to introduce a bill declaratory of *the ſole and excluſive right of Ireland to make laws, &c.* leave was refuſed, and a reſolution was paſſed, that it was refuſed, "*becauſe* the ſole, ſeparate, and excluſive right of legiſlation in the Iriſh Parliament, in all caſes, whether internal or external, had already been aſſerted by Ireland, and fully and *finally* and *irrevocably*, acknowledged by the Britiſh Parliament." And ſo great was the general joy and ſatisfaction, at this concluſive event, that in their laſt addreſs upon the ſubject, the Iriſh Parliament deſire a day of public and ſolemn thankſgiving to God, for ſo great a bleſſing. That ſettlement removed from Ireland, all thoſe evils of ſubjection, which an Union would again heap upon her.

The ſentiments of the Britiſh Parliament on that ſubject, ſeem to have been exactly ſimilar; and the arrangement of the points then in queſtion was the *ultimate* object of the then miniſters, Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox; for, though it has been ſaid, that, after the paſſing of the bill repealing 6 Geo. I. ‡ an addreſs to the King was voted praying him *to take ſuch further meaſures as, &c.* no ſuch addreſs was ever voted; but when the firſt reſolution had been paſſed in the Britiſh Commons, declaring "the connexion indiſpenſable," &c. and leave "had been given to bring in a bill, an addreſs was voted con-"taining the ſubſtance of the reſolution, viz. "that the King "would be graciouſly pleaſed to take ſuch meaſures as his "Majeſty, in his royal wiſdom, ſhould think moſt conducive "to

* For full quotations, ſee the Speech of the Rt. Hon. John Foſter, April 11th, 1799, in the Iriſh Commons.

† Pitt, Addington, Dundas, 1. ‡ Pitt, 1.

" to the eſtabliſhing by mutual conſent, the connexion between " this kingdom and Ireland, upon a ſolid and *permanent* baſis." The addreſs contains not the word " further," and was *not* voted after the paſſing of the bill (repealing 6 Geo. I.) which was not preſented till June 11th: the addreſs was voted on the 17th of May.

The reſolution, in reſpect to future meaſures, ſeems to have had only commerce in view; and ſo it was aſſerted in 1785, by Mr. Pitt, and by the Earl of Liverpool (then Mr. Jenkinſon) and on that it was that miniſters relied, as the grounds for the neceſſity of the commercial ſyſtem of 1785; and though, it is true, that in reply, Mr. Fox, ſaid it was to extend to political objects only,* yet he explains thoſe political objects to be what really are commercial, by ſaying that they were to " comprehend the whole ſyſtem of navigation of the empire." Boufield.

The connexion between the two kingdoms was rendered ſufficiently permanent and ſecure, by the act paſſed in 1782, which modifying Poynings' law,† enacts, that " no bill ſhall paſs into a law in Ireland, till it be returned under the *Great Seal of Great Britain:*" not leaving the connexion a *bare junction of two kingdoms under one Sovereign*, as it is ſaid; but, making the Britiſh miniſter anſwerable to the Parliament of Britain for any law paſſed in Ireland injurious to the empire, or tending towards the ſeparation of Ireland. This act does indeed certainly create a theoretic difference in the conſtitutions of the two kingdoms, which renders that of Ireland inferior to the other: yet it is a difference not injurious, but neceſſary from the ſituation of Ireland in the empire. And though Ireland be not therefore abſolutely independent, and cannot be ſo conſiſtently with her connexion with Great Britain, yet ſhe is independent with regard to the right of making laws for her own internal regulation and taxation, which ſhe ſolely and excluſively poſſeſſes. For though Ireland has not *abſolutely* the power of enacting any ſuch law, as it muſt be ratified by Great Britain, yet there is a moral certainty that ſuch ratification never will be withheld, unleſs in caſes where it is really injurious, becauſe the intereſt of Great Britain neceſſarily obliges her to conſult the intereſt of Ireland. *Connexion ſufficient.* Foſter. Lord Farnham.

This power of the Britiſh Parliament to control the third eſtate of the Iriſh Parliament, (in the King's power of aſſent) is an effectual pledge to Great Britain, that no Iriſh act can paſs to weaken, or impair the connexion: Ireland alſo, at the ſame time, is, on her part, ſecured as well in her connexion with Britain, as in her independence, becauſe, as ſhe cannot be bound by Britiſh law, ſo neither can any act of Britain alter, or reſcind the connexion, unleſs confirmed, by the act of Ireland herſelf. An act ſimply of the Britiſh Parliament is inadequate to throw off the connexion of Ireland, for no Britiſh act is capable of reſcinding the Iriſh annexation act of Henry VIII.

as

* Douglas, 2. † Pitt, Addington, Lord Minto, Douglas, 1, 4.

as it was directly ſtated by Mr. Eden, (now Lord Auckland) when he moved the repeal of 6 Geo. I.

Taaffe, & Anon. The connexion was further ſtrengthened by Yelverton's act, which was paſſed the ſame day as the former, adopting *all* the Britiſh laws, reſpecting commerce, and making them the uniform law of the empire. An Union is the only poſſible event, that can endanger the connexion between the two kingdoms; for then the diſcontent of the people, magnifying every trifle, and conſtruing every act of the legiſlature into an injury, would render martial law, or rebellion, the only alternative for the unhappy country. But, it is ſaid, that the *preſent connexion* has been tried in various ſhapes, and in all, has failed of the expected effects: if ſo, there cannot be derived from thence any inducement to Ireland, to put herſelf implicitly in the hands of a country, from which, in mere partnerſhip, ſhe has derived ſo little benefit; it is rather an argument for complete ſeparation and entire independence.

Foſter. The conſtitution of 1782,* has obtained for Ireland greater bleſſings, than at any former period, ſhe had ever enjoyed; —an increaſed and increaſing affluence;—a flouriſhing trade; —an extended commerce. Her progreſs in improvement, which, in the twenty years that ſucceeded that eſtabliſhment, was greater, than in a century before, can be attributed to no other cauſe, than the reſtoration of her independence. But the eſtabliſhment of 1782, which effected this, is incompatible with an Union; they are in direct oppoſition to each other, and by an Union the adjuſtment of 1782, which is ſufficient for every purpoſe of happineſs, muſt be annihilated.

The introduction of the propoſitions of 1785, is no argument againſt the permanency, or ſufficiency of the adjuſtment of 1782: thoſe propoſitions were entirely commercial, and did not in any way, touch upon the conſtitution; they were ſtated by Mr. Pitt, as being a ſupplement to the meaſures of 1779 and 1780 and 1782; and, as *all* that was neceſſary to ſecure the connexion inviolate, and form a *complete* arrangement: ſo was it expreſſed by him in the addreſs to the King moved by him, in the Commons, and accompanied by a ſimilar addreſs from the Lords, expreſſive of the ſame thing.

It was ſaid, at the time, when the commercial propoſitions were debated in 1785, that "things could not remain as they "were,"—that "commercial jealouſy was rouſed, and would "increaſe with two independent legiſlatures;" and it is now argued from thence, that becauſe no compact has ſince taken place, matters are ſtill in the ſame dangerous ſituation, and require a remedy to be applied to the exiſting evil, by one of the only two meaſures, which, as is aſſerted, are capable of producing that effect, viz. a Legiſlative Union, or a Commercial

* Douglas, 6.

mercial Compact. The situation of things, however, is now materially different from that of 1785; the grounds of commercial jealousy, that then existed, have been removed; and all the essential parts of the propositions then debated, have been adopted in subsequent laws, which have been passed separately, as occasion required: for instance;—Lord Hobart's act of 1793, to permit the importation into Great Britain from Ireland, of all goods the produce of the British colonies, or of Asia, Africa, or America:—The Irish act, restraining the *acknowledged* right of Ireland, to trade within the East India Company's limits:—the adoption in *toto* of the navigation acts; the acts for the registry of shipping; the increase of shipping; the regulation of Greenwich Hospital, &c. &c.

Thus, a third method of accommodation has been found, and has been practised, equally effectual with the others, and more permanent, because it is founded on mutual interest and good will.

The connexion of Ireland with Great Britain very much resembles that of the British House of Commons with the crown. In former times that house had no concern whatever with matters of state, and acted merely as a check to control the legislative prerogative of the crown: this prerogative, in course of time, has dwindled into nothing; and, as the commons now enter into all the detail of business, prerogative has given way, to the milder, but equally efficacious organ, influence. The effects are nearly similar, but cases have sometimes arisen, when the proposed measure appeared so hostile to the interests of the country, that it was beyond the power of the crown to effect it, and no influence was able to obtain consent to it. Anon.

So, in all common cases, Ireland is in the habit of thinking with Great Britain, and acquiescing in her plans, but still she retains the *power* of dissenting, whenever the welfare of her country may seem to be menaced. It is not probable that the Irish Parliament would take so bold a step, as to dissent from any imperial measure proposed in the British legislature, without a sufficient conviction, that in so doing, they were expressing the will of the people: and there is much less danger to be apprehended, from such a legal expression of public disapprobation, through the constituted authorities, than from any other, that might irregularly burst forth, when there were no public organ to speak the sentiments of the nation.

The falsehood of the assertion, that the two legislatures cannot exist, without a virtual subordination of the inferior to the decisions of the other, is proved by the fate of the very question under discussion, when it was agitated in the Irish Parliament. Anon.

Rudd. Parliament. The government of Ireland, compoſed of the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland,* is perfectly independent, and ſubject to the control of no power under Heaven; nor is the crown of Ireland any way ſubordinate to the crown of Britain, but equal and free.

Spencer. It would be abſurd of Ireland, with a greatly increaſed population, with a flouriſhing agriculture, extenſive, and ſtill extending commerce, to reſign into the hands of another country that diſtinct, and independent legiſlature, which ſhe enjoyed while inconſiderable in point of agriculture, commerce, and population. A temporary ſtate of diſturbances can afford no grounds for adopting a meaſure of ſo great magnitude, and in its nature *irrevocable*: nor is there any connexion between the evil, and the remedy propoſed.

Foſter, & Yousfield, But great fears are entertained of the conſequences that may ariſe from diſſenſion between the two legiſlatures; and many queſtions, it is ſaid, may be hereafter productive of ſuch fatal diſagreement. Of all theſe poſſible queſtions, however, none are pointed out, except thoſe of peace and war, including treaties, and that of regency.

The declaration of war is the King's prerogative, and in him, ſolely, the power is veſted, independent of either legiſlature. The only means poſſeſſed by Parliament of controling that power, is by withholding ſupplies. But if, in that point the two legiſlatures ſhould diſagree, and the one ſhould ſupport the crown in a war, while the other ſhould refuſe to concur, the only inconvenience that could reſult from thence, would be, that one country would withhold its aſſiſtance, till its good ſenſe ſhould induce it to acquieſce; while it would ſtill be expoſed, equally with the other to all the loſſes, and calamities of war, becauſe the King's declaration of war involves equally all his ſubjects: So that there is little probability of reſiſtance, in ſuch a caſe, on the part of the weaker, and more expoſed.

Lord Farnham, But hiſtory does not furniſh one inſtance, where the Iriſh Parliament has withheld its ſupport. The motive which has produced this uniform concurrence, is one which muſt ever produce the ſame effect, ſelf-intereſt, and ſelf-preſervation. The ſame motive ever has, and ever will occaſion the ſame concurrence of the Britiſh Parliament with the crown in ſuch caſes, but it muſt operate with greater force upon Ireland than Great Britain in proportion as the former ſtands in a more defenceleſs condition than the latter.

In making peace, the executive is not ſubject to embarraſſment of the ſame ſort, by the denial of ſupply; and it is very unlikely that any nation, eſpecially the weaker, ſhould decline

* Douglas, Dundas, &c.

decline accepting the bleſſings of peace, when offered. And, on the ſubject of treaties, not concerning peace or war, which may therefore require the confirmation of a legiſlative act, there is leſs reaſon for apprehending a diſagreement between the Iriſh Parliament, and that of Great Britain, than between the latter and the executive; both, therefore, may reſt upon the ſame footing. There are many things hazardous and alarming in theory, which yet in practice are ſafe and eaſy.

The only queſtion upon which a difference of opinion can be ſaid to have ever actually exiſted, between the two legiſlatures, is that of the regency in 1789. But, in that caſe, it was the diſagreement of *two eſtates* of each Parliament only, deprived of the third which was common to both legiſlatures; and it is an inſtance of a caſe, where the control of the Britiſh council over the third eſtate, in its power of aſſent to the acts of the Iriſh Parliament, was neceſſarily extinguiſhed. It affords ſtrong preſumptive evidence of the efficacy of the connexion eſtabliſhed in 1782, that the only inſtance of diſagreement, happened during the ſuſpenſion of the bond of Union then eſtabliſhed.

In the caſe of Regency, however, no difficulty, in fact, exiſts, becauſe, not only the identity of perſon in the Regent is, by the annexation Act of Hen. VIII. equally ſecured with that of the Sovereign; but by the law of 1782, concerning the Great Seal, the matter is put beyond all doubt, for the Great Seal muſt be in the hands of the Regent of Great Britain, and without the uſe of that Seal, and conſequently without the concurrence of that Regent, all the functions of the Iriſh Legiſlature muſt be ſuſpended. If any difference of ſituation ſhould require any local difference of power to be put into the Regent's hands, the Iriſh Parliament would be as fully competent to eſtabliſh it, as it now is with regard to the Sovereign. But it would be ſilly from any apprehenſion of theoretic inconvenience, in a caſualty that may never happen, to ſurrender the independence and honor of the country. & Bousfield.

The true principle, to which is to be aſcribed the preſervation and ſtability of the Britiſh Conſtitution, is the balancing check of the three eſtates of Parliament upon each other,* which maintains a juſt equilibrium and proportion between them all. The ſame principle may be applied to the two ſeparate Parliaments, which, by a ſimilar operation, may ſerve to ſecure each other in their juſt relations; ſo that their mixed powers, like thoſe of the mixed government, ſhall by their ſeparate exertions, ſo checked, preſerve the ſymmetry of the whole. Foſter.

If

* Smith, 16.

*Union will not strengthen the Empire,* Foster, & Spencer.

If the effects of an Union* were to be such as are promised, the strengthening the Empire, and increasing its resources, such an object would certainly justify very important sacrifices made to obtain it. But the consolidation of the kingdoms is already as strong, as human policy, or individual interest can make it; and an Union could have no other effect, but to deprive Ireland of the residence of her Parliament: in all other respects she would remain precisely as she is; so that no addition would be made through her means, to the power of the Empire by an Union. On the contrary, it would be lessened, by debilitating Ireland; her spirit would be debased, and her resources weakened, by being reduced to a state of subjection, by the increase of Absentees, and by the check that her trade and manufactures would suffer.

Lord Farnham,

It has been argued by the advocates of Union, that the *only* mode of connexion, which is sufficient to guard against the danger of separation, is the *perfect identity* and *incorporation* of the governments. But admitting this to be just, it affords an argument against the proposed Union between Great Britain and Ireland: For, according to the scheme proposed, there is not any substantial distinctness between those countries, which will not continue to exist, except the very material one of the Parliaments. The executive governments will be distinct, the revenues, the appropriation of the funds in each, the treasury will remain distinct, and from thence must ever arise, more or less, a distinctness of interest. These circumstances render a *perfect identification* impossible, and according to the same just reasoning, serve only to increase the tendency to separation. The situation of Scotland and Wales with regard to England, was totally different upon these points; they admitted of a complete incorporation and identity. In order to *consolidate* the Scotch Union, it is said, that it was found necessary to remove, by the abolition of the Privy Council of Scotland, that remaining *nucleus of local government, and separate interest*. And yet Union with Ireland, accompanied with the distinctness of Viceroy, Privy Council, Revenues and expences, is expected to produce a perfect identity and incorporation.

Lord Minto.

*and is irrevocable,* Foster, & Spencer.

But whatever may be the possible, or probable advantages to be derived from an Union, it should always be recollected, that the measure once adopted, is *irrevocable*; that no means will exist on obtaining the redress of any inconveniencies that may be found to result from it; whereas, that if a change of circumstances should ever hereafter make it necessary to have recourse to an Union, it will always be within the power of the Parliament to do so when occasion may require.

No

* Pitt, 4.

No very brilliant proſpect can offer itſelf to Ireland, of the advantages to be derived, from putting herſelf again into the hands of a Parliament, whoſe partial and oppreſſive conduct towards her, till 1782, was ſo truly and forcibly deſcribed by Mr. Pitt. It is a mere play upon words, to ſay that Ireland will be ſecured from a ſimilar ſituation, by ſuch a mockery of repreſentation as 100 Members among 558.* The ſmall proportion of Iriſh Members would annihilate the ſalutary control of the conſtituents over the repreſentatives; and would anſwer no other purpoſe, than to ſanction as the voluntary act of Ireland, an uſurpation, which was before ſuffered only by compulſion, and from which ſhe was reſerved by the energy of her own Parliament: No *articles*† of Union can ſerve as a ſecurity, becauſe it equally lies within the omnipotence of Parliament, that eſtabliſhed them, to alter, or reſcind them altogether, at its pleaſure. And even if there ſhould hereafter ariſe ſome liberal-minded Miniſter in England, who ſhould be inclined to treat Ireland, with a juſtice that ſhe has not experienced theſe 500 years; ſtill the narrow ſelfiſhneſs of the Britiſh character, would tie up his hands, and oppoſe ſuch an attempt. Nor is any reliance to be placed upon its being the duty of the legiſlature to provide equally, for the benefit of the whole Empire. For public virtue is not to be depended on; and therefore it is, that government is made to conſiſt of a ſyſtem of checks. The argument of *duty* may as well be adduced in ſupport of a ſyſtem of abſolute power. If the Britiſh legiſlature be entitled to ſuch implicit confidence, it were as wiſe to ſend no repreſentatives from Ireland, but let that country give to Britain, *formally*, the ſway, which really ſhe will have.

*Imprudent to confide in Great Britain.* Foſter, & Gould, & Anon. Spencer. Foſter, & Gould, & Anon. Anon.

At the Union of Scotland, it was ſtipulated, that the Land-tax upon Scotland, ſhould never exceed *one fortieth* of that which was laid upon England; but now, by the contrivance of ſubſtituting a tax on income for a land-tax, Scotland is made to pay *one eighth* of the Engliſh tax. This is not quoted as a breach, or even an evaſion of any of the articles of Union, but it ſerved to ſhew how futile any language, in which ſuch articles can be expreſſed, may, by the accidents of time and unforeſeen circumſtances, be rendered. And Ireland would have the leſs ſecurity in Parliament, becauſe the great diſtance would place her repreſentatives beyond the reach of public opinion or cenſure. Spencer, & Gould, & Bouſfield, & Anon.

The example of Scotland is conſtantly urged, in favour of the neceſſity and good conſequences of an Union:‡ but there is no ſimilarity between the ſituations of Scotland and of Ireland. Scotland was connected with England, by no other tie, than the accidental circumſtance of the crown of England

*Caſe of Scotland not ſimilar.* Foſter, & Spencer, & Rudd, & Gould, & Bouſfield.



* Douglas, 24. † Ibid. 13. ‡ Douglas, 8. Smith, 13.

England having deſcended to the Scottiſh King; in all other reſpects, it was perfectly foreign. Scotland had no conſtitution, the two houſes of Parliament ſat together, and the Commons had no controul over the purſe of the Nation,* for the King, by exerting his prerogative in the creation of Peers, could at pleaſure outnumber the votes of the Commons: nor were they poſſeſſed of the power of deliberation, for no ſubject could come before them, without being firſt propoſed by the *Lords of Articles*. Depreſſed in trade, ſubject on all occaſions to miſchievous foreign influences, led by a train of groſs injuries to the very brink of hoſtilities, (ſo far as even to *have paſſed* an act diſjoining the realm from the crown of England, at the demiſe of the then reigning Sovereign,) Scotland was fortunate, in her declining ſtate, and under ſuch diſadvantages, to obtain, by incorporation with a rich and inimical nation, all the benefits of a great and increaſing commerce, not otherwiſe attainable to her, the ceſſation of a vexatious ſyſtem of enmity and oppreſſion, and the certainty of a powerful and friendly alliance, together with ſecurity from the impending dangers of total ſeparation: Not one of theſe circumſtances is applicable to the ſtate of Ireland.

Spencer. But even in Scotland, ſo ill-reliſhed was the Union, that only ſix years after the concluſion of the treaty, its diſſolution was moved in the Upper Houſe; and was ſupported by *all* the Scotch Peers;† upon the plea of one of the articles of the treaty having been violated, in the impoſition of a Malt tax; of there no longer being a council in Scotland; and of their laws being altered in matters of the higheſt importance.

Anon. There is no inconſiſtency in arguing, from the ſame grounds; the oppreſſion exerciſed by England over each country, that great benefits were derivable to Scotland from an Union, but that the meaſure would be injurious to Ireland. Becauſe the miſfortunes of Scotland were in exiſtence and ſenſibly felt at the time, and not to be remedied by any other means than an Union: Ireland *has already freed herſelf* from the oppreſſion, that ſhe ſuffered; and to her an Union would anſwer no end, but to expoſe her to a repetition of the ſame calamities.

It may be obſerved alſo that the efficacy of an Union, is not proved to be ſo complete and univerſal, as its advocates aſſert, by the condition of Scotland; for it has not had power ſufficient to prevent two rebellions from taking place in that country in the courſe of forty years: Nor was it able to counteract the introduction of French principles and

* Douglas, 14. † Ibid. 13.

and republicaniſm, very lately, which made conſiderable progreſs in Scotland, as the fate of Muir, Palmer, &c. ſufficiently teſtify.

But it appears from the ſecret correſpondence between the Duke of Portland and Lord Shelburne in 1782, which has been lately diſcloſed, that the Duke had then in contemplation certain acts of Parliament, which were calculated to produce all the good effects that are now expected from an Union, ſo that Miniſters *then* thought that ſuch acts were ſufficient, without depriving Ireland of her conſtitution. Ld. Farnham.

The authority of the juſtly-celebrated political œconomiſt, Dr. A. Smith, has been quoted in ſupport of an Union: but it ſhould be obſerved that that gentleman's works were publiſhed previous to the material alteration which was produced in the condition of Ireland, by the recovery of Free trade in 1779. He wrote in 1776, and that very acquiſition, which was likely to have flowed from an Union, is the principal point upon which he dwells, as an argument of the benefits to be derived from an Union. His opinion alſo embraced equally the caſe of North America, and recommended an incorporative Union with Britain to thoſe States; but the American colonies ſpurned his remonſtrance, and vindicated their own independence. *Adam Smith's opinion not relevant.* Anon.

The injuries that will reſult from an Union between Great Britain and Ireland, are not confined to the latter; Britain will alſo feel its ill effects.* Ireland, reduced to the miſerable condition of a Weſt-India colony, will, like St. Domingo, furniſh an eternal ſink to the blood and treaſure of Britain, which muſt be expended in order to maintain it. *Union will injure Britain.* Anon.

Inſtead of purifying the corrupt condition of Parliament, by mixture with another corrupt body, it will ſerve only to deteriorate ſtill further the Britiſh Parliament, by the admiſſion of the Iriſh Members; and of men ſo peculiarly expoſed to temptation. It will be a dangerous innovation in the conſtitution of Great Britain, by the admiſſion of foreigners into the Legiſlature, for at the moment that a ſingle Member, over whom the country has no control, contributes to enact any law to bind that country, its conſtitution is at an end. It will commit England, in a breach of faith with Scotland, by infringing on the ſtipulated proportion of the Scotch Members, to thoſe of the Engliſh houſes of Parliament. And in the wound, which Ireland will receive in her conſtitution, Britain ought to feel herſelf equally attacked; for ſo cloſe and intimate is the connexion between the two countries, that there can be no invaſion of the rights of the one, without enfolding in its mantle the liberties of the Spencer. Goold. Taaffe. Bouſfield.

* Douglas, 18.

Goold, & Weld, & Anon.

the other. But in this measure the grand object of the Minister seems to be the overthrow of the British constitution, by means of the additional strength which he will derive from the body of Irish representatives.

*Parliament not competent.* Spencer, & Taaffe, & Sheehy, & Bousfield, & Goold, &c.

But, further though all the supposed advantages of an Union were justly to be expected from it, yet Parliament is not competent to effect such a measure, without the directly expressed approbation of the people.* The power of the British Parliament has been held in doubt by some very able men, with regard to the septennial bill, by which it only prolongs its own duration for a few years: Much more then may the extent of Parliamentary power be called in question, as to a measure, which goes to abolish the Parliament itself, and transfers the right of legislation into the hands of another country.

A Member of Parliament has no right to delegate that, which was only a delegated trust to himself, or to substitute another Parliament for that chosen by the people. Some years since, when a bill was introduced in the Irish House of Commons, to incapacitate revenue officers, from voting at elections of Members of Parliament, it was contended on the part of Administration, and successfully too, that Parliament had not a right to disfranchise men not convicted of any crime.

If then Parliament was not impowered to disfranchise some obscure individuals, surely it cannot be competent to adopt a measure, which will render the franchise of the whole Kingdom a mere nullity.

Anon.

But, it is argued, the Septennial Bill was passed, and the *fact* is a proof of the competence of Parliament; so also the various limitations of the Crown. But neither the Septennial Bill of Geo. 1. nor the limitations of the crown, at all trench upon the constitution: they relate only to the *regulation* of distinct branches of the constitution, but that in itself remains unaltered. The question of an Union affects immediately the constitution; for it is an *essential* part of it, to have an House of Commons chosen *solely* by the people, and any Act, which substitutes for that assembly an House of Commons of which five-sixths are chosen by a foreign Nation, alters materially and impairs the constitution. The introduction of a single member not chosen by the people is a breach of the constitution.

At a period of the world, when constitutional rights were so little known or understood as in the twelfth century, king John's resignation of his crown and kingdom to the Pope was opposed with violence, by the Barons, because he

was

* Douglas, Addington, Lord Minto, &c. 20.

was not competent, to hand over his people, without their conſent, to any other maſter. The inſtance of competence in the Scotch Parliament to a ſimilar meaſure proves nothing, becauſe the Scotch Union was treated of and concluded, by deputies from the Nation, expreſsly choſen for that purpoſe; and Lord Somers, who was a conſtitutional lawyer, and was well aware of the incompetency of Parliament,† took care to authorize their proceedings by an *appeal to the people*, and by ſtating expreſsly in the ſummons, which called together the Scotch Parliament, that an Union between the two kingdoms was one of the ſubjects to be laid before them.

The power of Parliament, though not abſolute and unlimited, is competent to every act, which is not a violation of the conſtitution. No more than this, is aſſerted either by Coke or Blackſtone, and both thoſe lawyers give inſtances of acts, to which Parliament is not competent. So it ſtands recorded upon the authority of the Parliament and people of England—an endeavour to ſubvert the conſtitution, or violate the fundamental laws, was declared to amount, on the part of the King, to an abdication of his Crown: it will not, ſurely, be contended that the King is the *only* branch of the Legiſlature that may not with impunity ſubvert the conſtitution, or that has an original compact with the people.

Lord Coke,* and Sir William Blackſtone,† however high Anon.
their authority, are not the only writers on this ſubject, who have aſſerted the incompetence of any Sovereign, whether an abſolute monarch or a delegated Parliament, to alienate or transfer into other hands the right of legiſlation: it is equally the opinion of Grotius,‡ Puffendorf,§ and Locke,‖ Lord Coke¶ goes ſo far as to deny the power of Parliament to depute its authority, even for a ſingle ſeſſion, and even to men ſelected from itſelf, and members of its own body.

But in caſe an Union be enacted, Parliament will be & Ld. Farnham.
competent hereafter to reſcind it,—or it will not. If not, the whole doctrine of the omnipotence of parliament vaniſhes. If it be competent, then that power of diſſolving the Union will reſt in the Britiſh Parliament; and if it ſhould happen that an Union prove injurious to Britain, then the Britiſh Legiſlature will make uſe of that power, and Ireland will be caſt off. But, on the other hand, if the unfortunate conſequences of an Union ſhould fall upon Ireland, however heavy

† Douglas, 23. * Inſtit. p. 43. † Com. B. 1. c. 1.
‡ De jure belli et pacis, L. 1. c 4. § 10.
§ De leg: naturæ et gen. L. 8. c. 12. § 6.
‖ On Government. Part 2d. c. 11. § 141.
Ib. ——— c. 19. § 212.
¶ 4 Inſtit. p. 42.

heavy the calamities that she may suffer, she may cry in vain for relief, she will have no power over the United Parliament, and consequently no power, on her part, to procure the revision of the compact of Union. Thus, when Scotland, a few years after the conclusion of the Union, thought herself aggrieved by the imposition of a malt tax, in violation, at least of the letter of the treaty, and wished for a dissolution of the Union, she failed of success in the attempt, notwithstanding the unanimous support of the Scotch Peers, in the Upper-house, where the motion was made.

Taaffe. Britain, at the least, would have it in her power always, to make such alteration in the terms of the treaty, as might suit her interest, or caprice: and numberless instances exist in proof of the little reliance that is to be placed on the good faith of England; as the breach of the treaty of Limerick, &c. &c.

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Dr. Drennan. It is argued by another gentleman, who seems to stand alone, in his opinion, that the present connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, cannot be permanent, that it is already *hastening* towards dissolution, but that instead of adding strength to it, an Union will lead *immediately to separation, hostile and republican*; and that the only method of guarding against this, and consolidating the connexion by firmly uniting the interests of the two kingdoms, is a *complete, friendly*, separation, and the establishment of total independence; constituting, in each island, a *separate and independent monarchy*, and securing the *alliance*, by placing the Crown of Ireland on the head of some of the younger branches of the reigning family, on the British throne.

# IN *FAVOUR* OF A LEGISLATIVE UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

## ARGUMENTS *POLITICAL*, AS RESPECTING THE *INTERNAL* INTERESTS, PEACE, AND PROSPERITY OF IRELAND.

*Small ſtates expoſed to danger.* Irish Patriot. Anon.

SMALL ſtates are always, expoſed to the dangers of internal convulſion, and of external fraud and oppreſſion. It is large ſtates only, and extenſive communities, which can poſſeſs power ſufficient, for protection againſt foreign encroachments, and internal diſſenſions. Hiſtory affords a confirmation of this remark, in the conduct of the ancient ſtates of Greece and Italy, of the ſmall kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy, of the ancient divided territories of Ireland itſelf, of the ſeparate governments of England and Scotland in the courſe of ſeveral centuries, &c. At the preſent æra the inſecurity of ſmall ſtates is evinced, in the misfortunes, to which the diſcordant powers of Italy, and the imperfect confederacy of Switzerland, have been expoſed.

It was by a firm Union of her ſeparate Members, that Great Britain was enabled, to overcome the difficulties which embarraſſed her, to put an end to internal quarrels, and raiſe her power and influence among nations to that exalted rank in which ſhe now ſtands. Ireland, too ſmall to be capable of maintaining herſelf independent, is the only part of the Britiſh Empire, that, at this day, is not united to the reſt, by a firm and undivided Government. The ſecurity of ſuch an Union is equally neceſſary for the removal of his own internal commotions, as for the ſtrengthening the reſources and powers of the Empire at large.

*Internal condition of Ireland wants remedy.* Pitt, & Addington, & Anon.

The leaſt reflection upon the internal condition of Ireland; the dreadful cruelties exerciſed by the ferocious enemy; the lamentable ſeverities that in conſequence became neceſſary; the hoſtile diviſions of ſects; the animoſities exiſting between the original inhabitants, and the more recent ſettlers; the unfortunate want of civilization, more remarkable in that country, than any other almoſt in Europe; the unhappy prevalence of Jacobin principles, ariſing out of the foregoing cauſes, and augmenting their malignity.—The leaſt reflection on theſe melancholy and too evident circumſtances,

ſtances, will point out the abſolute neceſſity of ſome change of ſyſtem. No meaſure ſeems ſo likely to effect a remedy as the formation of a legiſlature removed from danger, and uninflamed by the prejudices and paſſions, that diſtract the country.* Theſe qualities a general Imperial Parliament would eminently poſſeſs, combined, at the ſame time, with all the requiſite local information and attachment.

& Douglas. The intereſts of the two Iſlands are ſo united, that it is not poſſible, to ſpeak to that of either, without including, in the conſideration, the concerns of the other; but, though Ireland were alone implicated, in the preſent diſcuſſion, the adoption of another ſyſtem is of the higheſt importance, and the diſtracted ſtate of that country ſeems to point out the eſtabliſhment of an Imperial legiſlature, as the only means of healing its bleeding wounds, and reſtoring its long-loſt tranquillity.

Smith. Ireland is as well calculated, by nature, as any country upon earth, to enjoy every poſſible bleſſing, and yet its ſtate has never, at any period, been ſuch as to afford ſatisfaction, on account of the feuds, and animoſities that have ever prevailed, and have alternately injured and irritated both Roman Catholic, and Proteſtant, and prejudiced them againſt each other. The form of Government, though ſimilar to that of Great Britain, was not competent to remove theſe calamities, becauſe it did not beſtow, and receive *general* confidence and protection; for it was not connected by an indiſſoluble tie, with the obvious intereſts, the feelings, and the opinions of the great body of the people: No remedy can be effectual, but ſuch as will ſtrike at the root of the evil, by putting an end to the ſtruggles for power between different bodies of the people, and rendering the Proteſtants and Catholics of the two countries one Nation, under the authority and protection of one Parliament;† which ſhall be free from the prejudices, the fears and the hatreds of either of the contending parties in that kingdom.

*Preſent Government of Ireland, not able to procure it.*

Addington.

*Ireland the moſt vulnerable part of the Empire.* Smith. That Ireland is regarded by the enemy, as the moſt vulnerable part of the Empire, and that her condition is, by them, attributed to her domeſtic convulſions and diſtractions, we have too ample teſtimony in the declarations and conduct of Hoche, Humbert, Tone, &c.‡ in the Reports of the Secret Committees, &c. &c. But the ſtate of Scotland, has been urged, in this reſpect, in oppoſition to the benefits of an Union, becauſe treaſon has, notwithſtanding, found its way into that country alſo; If, however, the Scotch have been

* Foſter, 54. † Ibid. 56. ‡ Parl. Bouſfield, 58.

been tainted with diſaffection, and ſedition did appear among them, it ſhould be remembered that the diſeaſe was derived from the contagion of Ireland; and this circumſtance ſerves only to afford a more convincing proof, of the neceſſity to the whole empire, of ſome meaſure, that will purify that ſource of ſedition.

Some of the principal defects of Ireland, and an abundant fountain of calamities, are well known to be the want of capital and induſtry; theſe wants, no method is ſo likely to remedy, as mixing with a people, that can amply ſupply her with both. Smith,

*Religious Diſtinction the misfortune of Ireland.*

But the great misfortune of Ireland is the diviſion of its people, by the diſtinction of religions: this more particularly requires the interference of ſome regulating power, that is placed, beyond the ſphere of danger, or prejudice.* In the preſent ſtate of things, the Proteſtant ſees the aſcendancy, and even the exiſtence of his religion, expoſed to danger, from any further extenſion of the privileges, and powers of the Roman Catholics: and on the other hand the Romaniſts, increaſing every day in power and influence, equally feel the eſtabliſhment of the National Church to be a grievance; ſo that it is equally perilous to comply with the fears of one party, or to grant the claims of the other. This difficulty would be obviated by an united legiſlature, which might be able, in time, to remove all the grievances of the Roman Catholic, without ſubjecting the Proteſtant to any poſſible riſk. & Douglas, & Addington, & Lord Minto, & Dundas.

*Remedied by an Union.*

In that caſe, if the Roman Catholics were to be admitted into the united Parliament, their weight, in the general repreſentation, would be but as feathers in the ſcale;† all poſſibility of encroachment on the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, through the means of an Imperial Parliament, would be done away; and the favourite argument of preponderating numbers, would be diſſipated in a moment. On the other hand, ſhould the Romaniſts continue to be excluded; a barrier of tenfold ſtrength, would be placed between their wiſhes and the accompliſhment of them: Inſtead of a minority of fellow citizens, they would have to contend with the united legiſlature, and a majority of Proteſtants in the empire, greater than their own boaſted majority at home. Smith, & Addington, & Lord Minto, & Ann.

It has been ſaid that the conceſſions, made to the adherents of that religion in 1793, are ſuch as to "threaten the overthrow of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment in Ireland, and hazard both the connexion with Great Britain and the ſucceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover." There are but two modes, in which the effects of that meaſure can be remedied; either by an Incorporative Union, or by the re-enaction of the repealed code of popery laws. To the latter, it is univerſally Addington.

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* Taſſe, Sheehy, 54. † Foſter, 56.

cion exerciſed by the ariſtocracy be increaſed, proportionably to the numerical increaſe of population: but, ſuch a train of reciprocal exertion and coercion muſt neceſſarily tend to diſſolution; the wiſeſt miniſters of Great Britain, therefore, from that period to the preſent time, have been of opinion, that an Union was the only meaſure capable of ſaving Ireland from the horrors of civil hoſtilities.

*Advantages of 1782, not obtained by Parliament.*

It is in vain, that the advocates of the ſettlement of 1782, offer that adjuſtment, with the conſtitutional and commercial advantages obtained about that time, as a proof of the excellence of the parliamentary ſyſtem, or, as they ſay, of a dormant patriotic energy in the conſtitution of Ireland, becauſe thoſe were not the meaſures of Parliament, but were wrung from a ſulky ariſtocracy, by an armed people: the volunteer army was arrayed *againſt* the Iriſh Parliament.

The parliamentary conſtitution of 1782 had the ſame radical vice with that of James I. it did not embrace the body of the people; and its effects were to render the government of the country, impracticable to the executive miniſter, unleſs carried on by a ſyſtem of corruption, commenſurate to the extent and power of the ariſtocracy; becauſe the intereſts of the ariſtocracy, and thoſe of the people are at variance.

At this period it was, that the French principles of ſedition and democracy were introduced into Ireland: but, government was ſo clogged by the weight of that ariſtocratical faction, that the executive miniſters had no power to oppoſe an effectual reſiſtance; and thus, were theſe deſtructive principles allowed to extend, and fortify themſelves.

At length the Sovereign, and the Britiſh cabinet thought proper, to attend to the claims of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. It was then, that the ariſtocracy, alarmed at the indulgence granted and afraid of further conceſſions, laid the foundation of the *Orange Society*, and formed themſelves into an army of Orangemen. The oppreſſions exerciſed by this ſociety upon the Romaniſts were very grievous, and ſerved, in a great degree, to force the great body of the peaſantry into the views of the oppoſite ſociety of *United Iriſhmen*, and into rebellion.

At the ſame time, the power of that faction became ſo great as to oppoſe the inclinations and efforts of the Lord Lieutenant, and force out of the kingdom, the only officer, whoſe ſkill and experience were capable of ſaving the country, from the miſeries of a rebellion on the eve of breaking out, and the dangers of an expected invaſion. At laſt even the Lord Lieutenant himſelf was forced, by the violence of this faction, to leave Ireland.

The

The vigour and ſteadineſs of his ſucceſſor, Marquis Cornwallis, has ſince in a great meaſure ſubdued them; but that Nobleman's adminiſtration muſt, at laſt, have an end; and at his departure, the flames of civil diſcord will revive, with increaſed fury, unleſs they be extinguiſhed either by an Union, or by a Reform; which in the preſent temper of the world, is too dangerous to be practicable. Indeed, as long as the preſent ſtate of things continues, the two factions, who contend for power, muſt be tolerated, or even, in ſome degree encouraged by the ſupreme Government; and conſequently the country muſt ever be kept in a ſtate of diſtraction. Till all the inhabitants be placed upon an equal footing, ſo that all jealouſies ſhall be removed, and equal ſcope, and encouragement given to the induſtry of all, Ireland can never enjoy proſperity, or tranquillity: this an Union would ſerve to effect, by removing the cauſe and objects of contention. M'Kenna.

And as, out of the very frame and conſtitution of the Parliament of Ireland, ariſes the want of that confidence between the governors and the governed, which is eſſential to good government, the interference of the Britiſh Parliament is admirably calculated to reſtore peace and confidence, by removing thoſe conſtitutional vices, which are the ſource of the evils ſuffered, and by granting to the people of Ireland, what is beyond the reach of their local Parliament, a free participation of all the privileges, enjoyed by their fellow-ſubjects of Great Britain. Dundas.

At preſent, Ireland has no ſhare in the legiſlation of Great Britain, nor of the Empire; ſhe can take no part in the regulations reſpecting the foreign poſſeſſions of Britain; nor even thoſe in St. George's channel, or on the oppoſite coaſt of France, though, it is obvious, how much the commercial and political intereſts of Ireland may be affected, by ſuch regulations. By the admiſſion of her repreſentatives to be incorporated with thoſe of Great Britain, Ireland becomes a part of that body, whoſe voice is heard,—not in Europe only, but in the four quarters of the world; and immediately acquires her proportionate ſhare in all theſe great concerns: and Ireland will ſpeak, as well through the influence and ſuffrage of every Member choſen in Great Britain, as by the mouth of her own immediate repreſentatives; for the intereſts of that iſland will be as much the object of the duty and intereſt of the *whole body*, to attend to, as thoſe of any part of the Britiſh Empire. The deciſion, however, of all caſes merely local, will probably be left to the Iriſh Members, as it uſually happens, in ſimilar caſes, with regard to the Scotch repreſentatives, when the ſubject of debate relates merely to Scotland. Dundas & Douglas.

Ireland

*Ireland has no controul over the executive.*

Dundas.

Ireland is not now poſſeſſed of any controul over her own executive government; for the third eſtate, or executive of Ireland is neceſſarily and inevitably the ſame as that of Great Britain; and it, therefore acts, with regard to the whole Empire, by the advice of *Britiſh Miniſters*, amenable to the *Britiſh Parliament* alone, and not, in any manner, to Ireland; not even as to the affairs of Ireland, which paſs through the King's hands. From this important privilege, Ireland, as a ſeparate ſtate, muſt ever be debarred; but, becoming by an incorporate Union, a part of the Britiſh legiſlature, ſhe obtains, equally with Great Britain, the privilege of controul over the Miniſters of the Crown.

*Union will remedy the ignorance of Miniſters.*

It has been argued by many, (even of thoſe, who have not borrowed, from their predeceſſors in Scotland, the abſurd phraſeology, of *foreign* Government, *foreign* Miniſters, *foreign* Parliament, as applied to thoſe of Great Britain,) that Miniſters in London have neither opportunity, nor means of acquiring ſuch detailed knowledge of the characters, circumſtances, and intereſts of Ireland, as may be neceſſary, in order to form a true judgment of the juſtice or policy of their meaſures: and that *therefore*, they ought not to interfere in the government of that iſland. This concluſion is abſurd, becauſe the adminiſtrators of the ſupreme government muſt neceſſarily reſide near the perſon of the Sovereign, who holds the executive authority equally over both; but the premiſes may in ſome inſtances have been true. This evil however, ariſing from the want of information of Britiſh Miniſters, with regard to Ireland, will meet a perfect remedy in the incorporation of the two legiſlatures: for that meaſure will neceſſarily draw to the ſeat of government men from Ireland, who are acquainted with all parts of the kingdom and all its affairs, with the various circumſtances of its trade and manufactures, with its characters and its property; who will be near the Miniſter, or the Sovereign, when the affairs of their country are under conſideration; or will be ready, with their talents, their influence, and their ſuffrages, to ſupport in the Imperial legiſlature, whatever their duty may require.

Douglas.

But, ſay they,* a Parliament, ſitting in London, cannot be competent to tranquillize Ireland and eſtabliſh ſubmiſſion to the Laws, or to promote its proſperity; becauſe, "it will "be at too great a diſtance to adminiſter, in time, to the "wants and wiſhes of the people, or to guard againſt exceſſes "and diſcontents." But theſe cares fall into the department of the executive; it is the province of the executive government, and by no means of the Legiſlative body, to diſpenſe inſtant

* Foſter, Speaker, 55.

inſtant favours, or apply inſtant coerciou, on emergencies; ſubject afterwards to the inveſtigation of the Legiſlature.

Much ſtreſs has been laid upon the effects produced in Dublin by the proceſſion of the Houſe of Commons through the ſtreets; it is, however, but an ill compliment to the Parliament, or the people of Ireland, to aſcribe to ſuch a circumſtance as that, the diſtinguiſhed part, which the Iriſh Legiſlature had in ſuppreſſing the rebellion.

*Civil advantages of an Union.*

Beſide commercial advantages, and thoſe of general and relative policy, and legiſlation, Ireland would gain, by an Union with Great Britain, others much more important,—general civilization; habits of morality and true religion, inſtead of blind ſuperſtition and fanatical rage;* uniform ſubmiſſion to law, together with a gradual extinction of the ſpirit of diſturbance, inſurrection, plunder, and maſſacre, which has prevailed, with more or leſs violence, among the people of Ireland, as far back as their authentic hiſtory can be traced; eſpecially ſince the period, which eſtabliſhed the diviſion of them into Proteſtants and Papiſts.

The ſuppoſition that theſe good effects are more likely to be produced by a reſident Parliament, is inſtantly controverted by experience, which reminds us, that in a courſe of ages, a reſident Parliament has not been able to effect theſe improvements.

*Increaſe of Abſentees counterbalanced,* Pitt.

If an Union were to have the effect of increaſing the number of Abſentees from Ireland, yet that inconvenience would be counterbalanced, by the increaſed predelection, that ſuch a change would probably occaſion, for Engliſh habits, and for the Engliſh conſtitution;† and by promoting that connexion between the higher and lower orders of ſociety, which is ſo much wanting in Ireland: it would be more than compenſated, by the addition to the aggregate ſtock of wealth and commerce, which the adoption of an Union would produce; and by the ſupply of an uſeful ſet of men, who would replace abſent proprietors of land, and, by their conſumption, would equally encourage trade and manufactures, which their ſkill and induſtry would at the ſame time direct.

Smith, & Douglas.

*counteracted,*

But, as the reduced number of repreſentatives would much increaſe the difficulty of obtaining a ſeat in Parliament, no man, who was a permanent abſentee, could expect to retain influence ſufficient to be returned; and this circumſtance would rather induce many, even of thoſe now reſident in England, to ſpend a large portion of time on their eſtates, in order to court the favour of electors.

The

* Foſter, Ceaſe your Funning, 57.

† Foſter, Spencer, Bousfield, Rutlidge, 58, &c.

*and of no consequence to Dublin.* Pitt, & Smith.

The metropolis of Ireland has no grounds for the alarm which it has felt for its proſperity; becauſe it would ſtill continue to be the reſidence of the Viceroy, the ſeat of the Courts of Law, civil and eccleſiaſtical,—of the Revenue,—of the Univerſity,—and the Head-quarters of the Army; and becauſe it would ſtill be the centre of the commerce of this Kingdom, in an increaſed ſtate of vigour;—objects of much greater importance than the temporary reſidence of a certain number of Members of Parliament.

Dean Tucker.

But it is a vulgar notion, that *money is riches*; induſtry and frugality are the riches of a ſtate, and money is only the ſign of them; its circulation in a country is uſeful, only as it promotes the circulation of labour and induſtry: if not productive of this effect, the greateſt quantity of gold and ſilver, inſtead of being beneficial, is a detriment to the community. Spain has had ſad experience of this truth: Spain once abounded with induſtry and manufactures, but when gold and ſilver flowed in, from the mines of Mexico and of Peru, and were obtained without labour, all her apparatus of manufactures, her looms, and her induſtry were laid aſide; and Spain became one of the pooreſt, and worſt cultivated countries in Europe. Such is the caſe, in every town, which is the ſeat of diſſipation and luxury, where money is idly ſcattered, and induſtry is not requiſite to obtain it: idleneſs, and poverty were glaring amidſt the ſplendor, and profuſion of Verſailles; ſo, alſo, it is found at Vienna, at Berlin, at Munich, at Dreſden, at Naples, at every town, which is the reſidence of a Court; for the ſeat of proſperous manufacture is ever removed from the haunts of diſſipation. The ſame contraſt is found in our own towns; immenſe ſums of money are ſpent, every year, at Bath, by a concourſe, on an average, of 20,000 ſtrangers, in every ſort of luxury, pleaſure, and extravagance; yet the inhabitants of Bath are not rich, nor has any one manufacture ſprung up among them, though there is not any town more admirably ſituated, by nature, for the ſeat of manufacture.

When Edinburgh was the reſidence of a Court, and a Parliament, it was a very poor place, but it is now become a great and wealthy city, thriving in trade and manufactures. The contraſt is apparent even in London, between the Court and the City end,—between the idle ſickly buſineſs of Bond-ſtreet, and the ſtirring activity of Cheapſide or Cornhill: And before diſſipation and prodigality had arrived at ſo great a pitch in Dublin, there were flouriſhing manufactures eſtabliſhed in the *Liberty*; now a ſcene of miſery and deſolation: It is not, then, to the reſidence of a Parliament or a Court, that the ſucceſs of thoſe manufactures

* Jervis, Goold, Taaffe, Weld, Rudd, 62.

tures is to be attributed; since they have failed while that Parliament and Court were still resident; in consequence, probably of the accompanying dissipation and luxury.

But Dublin is apprehensive, that the trade of its port, will be transferred to better harbours; that Cork, Derry, Galway, Belfast, will attract it, while Dublin will decline: though were there any real probability of this being the case, still Dublin would be no loser; for it must not only profit by the increasing prosperity of any part of the Kingdom, but also, as it must ever continue to be the seat of the Treasury and National Bank, it must ever continue to be the centre of exchange for universal commerce, and, consequently, must become the scene of proportionate and increased trade: besides, the circumstance of the numerous canals cut through all the Western parts of England, and communicating with London, and those making from Dublin through Ireland, will contribute much to increase its commerce with England, and will make it the depôt, for the consumption of the kingdom, in all articles of British manufacture. *Trade of Dublin in no danger.* Arguments for and against, &c. Anon.

The fears of Dublin, however, for the local loss of trade are otherwise ill-founded, for trade does not always follow the best ports; and when once an establishment has taken place, it is difficult to remove it to another situation; its relations and habitudes are its security. No ports are more inconveniently circumstanced for trade than London, Bristol and Liverpool; yet this defect has not removed their trade to the spacious and admirable harbours of Portsmouth, Plymouth, or Milford, because the artificial basis of their establishment, has become too broad, for the disadvantages, under which they labour, to overturn it. Dean Tucker.

Dublin has, therefore, no reason for any such apprehensions: for on the contrary, increased commerce and increased industry will give increase of wealth and population, and consequently of value, to the lands and houses in the vicinity of Dublin.

But, if there were real grounds for the fears of any particular district, or of any particular class of men, yet their interests should not be put in competition with the benefit of the whole, from which their particular advantage, also, must ultimately flow: it matters little to the nation at large, whether it receive its treasures with the right hand, or with the left. The fate of Edinburgh since the Union presents an example, sufficient to remove the fears of Dublin; for though the same apprehensions were, at the time, entertained for that city, and prophecies as loud and clamorous, were made, of its approaching ruin, it has, since the above Pitt, & Anon. Pitt.

period, increaſed in commerce and population, in the proportion of five or ſix to one; and has continued to be the reſort of the gentry and nobility of Scotland, whoſe circumſtances it did not ſuit, to viſit the more remote metropolis of the Empire.

Douglas. It is a well known fact that no nobility and gentry live more at home, than thoſe of Scotland.

But the beſt method of preventing the increaſe of Abſentees, will be, to reſtore tranquillity, police, and ſecurity of life and property: theſe, added to the natural advantages of Ireland, then free from impediment or reſtraint, will give new weight to the common partiality, that men feel for their native land, and will bring back to Ireland, her wandering ſons, from all parts of the world.*

*Abſentees no ſerious evil.* Peel. It may be well doubted, however, whether the abſence of noblemen, and gentlemen of rank and property, be ſo great an evil, as it is generally reckoned;† for induſtry is the riches of a country; and it is univerſally found that manufactures, and other conſiderable objects of labour, flouriſh moſt at a diſtance from the ſeat of luxury, and the gay purſuits of genteel life. The want of acceſs to the money circulating in England, has kept Ireland comparatively poor, and uninduſtrious: when the Britiſh markets, therefore, are laid open, property drawn from Ireland, will be returned through the medium of induſtry; and thus the equilibrium will be reſtored; manufactures will be moſt likely, to eſtabliſh themſelves in a ſituation, remote from the influence of a domineering neighbour.

*Benefit to Cork.* Smith. If it were juſt, in arguing a meaſure that concerns the Empire at large, to conſider the intereſts of any particular part, or diſtrict, the opinion of the people of Cork might be adduced;‖ the inhabitants of that city ought beſt to underſtand their own intereſts, and they apprehend no injury, but on the contrary expect conſiderable benefit from a legiſlative Union; the abolition of all fears, jealouſies and diſtruſt; the intimate blending of the two countries, and the removal of all poſſibility of ſeparation, may furniſh motives, which did not before exiſt, and may remove all former objections to the eſtabliſhment of a Naval dock-yard; which is in itſelf a conſiderable object of deſire, and does not neceſſarily impede the progreſs of commercial proſperity; for though trade certainly does not reſort to thoſe ports where dock-yards are eſtabliſhed, that circumſtance muſt be aſcribed to ſome other cauſe, and cannot merely ariſe from the vicinity of a naval ſtation.

With

* See the Speech of the Rt. Hon. Sylveſter Douglas, p. 124.

† Foſter, 55, 58. ‖ Foſter, Anon. 61.

With regard to Taxation; the known integrity of the British Parliament, the example of the good faith kept with Scotland, and the leading principles of English finance, are, to Ireland, a ſufficient protection from the danger of being ſubjected to the burthens of Great Britain, or loaded with taxes beyond her ability. *No danger of exorbitant taxation to Ireland.* Pitt.

But, though Ireland were to have the whole of the annual burthen of England impoſed on her, (too heavy undoubtedly for her preſent means,) ſtill there would be no grounds for apprehenſion of the poorer part of the community being cruſhed by it, or driven to deſpair. The Taxes of England may be divided into ſix claſſes, viz. 1ſt. The Land tax. 2d. The Cuſtom-houſe duties, on the importation of foreign produce, manufactures, and luxuries. 3d. The Exciſe on articles of home conſumption. 4th. The Aſſeſſed taxes, as thoſe on Houſes, Windows, Horſes, Carriages, Servants, Dogs, &c. 5th. The Stamp duties, and 6th. The Poſtage tax. Dean Tucker.

From almoſt the whole of theſe the lower claſs of people are exempt: to the firſt they cannot be ſubject: the Cuſtoms are felt by thoſe only who chooſe to indulge in the luxuries of foreign produce, a thing no way neceſſary to the poor, who may enjoy all the comforts of good food, decent clothing, and warm dwellings, without the importation of any one foreign article; the duties on Horſes, Carriages, &c. cannot fall upon them, and to the Houſe and Window tax they are ſubjected in a very ſmall degree;* the Stamp duties do not concern any of their tranſactions, unleſs when they chooſe to ſpend their money in the purchaſe of newſpapers; nor can the Poſtage tax affect them; but if it did, there would be no room for complaint, becauſe it affords the cheapeſt mode, that they can make uſe of, for the conveyance of letters: the Exciſe is the only branch which muſt, to a certain degree, affect the poor, for they cannot, by the ſtricteſt frugality, ſave themſelves from the exciſe on Malt, Hops, and Cyder, on Soap, Candles, and Leather, and the duty on Salt: theſe are not, however, to any great amount, and, except in the two laſt articles, would ſcarcely at all concern the ſame claſs of people in Ireland; ſo that if ſimilar taxes were to be laid on that country, the poor would, according to their preſent mode of living, be ſubject to a very ſmall portion of them, for they make much leſs uſe of any of the exciſeable articles, than

* The greater part of the lower claſs are by law exempt, and the reſt are rarely aſſeſſed, by a ſort of connivance; to ſave them from the burthen. Dean Tucker.

than the poor of England, and are at leaſt as far beyond the reach of all the others.

But there is no reaſon to ſuppoſe, that, in the event of an Union, the taxes muſt be invariably the ſame in both countries: on the contrary, according to the ‖ reſolutions already agreed to, the rate of taxation is to be regulated upon certain rules, and fixed principles, previous to the Union; ſo that there ſhall be a conſtant difference proportioned to the comparative ability, of each country. The ſame reſolution preſerves Ireland from any wanton abuſe of her purſe; for, beſide that it is as ſafe in the hands of her repreſentatives ſitting in Weſtminſter, as aſſembled in Dublin, Britain *cannot* lay any tax upon Ireland, without at the ſame time ſubjecting herſelf to a burthen, *heavier in the full proportion of her greater ability*, and the very ſelfiſhneſs of Britain thus becomes, of itſelf, a ſafeguard to Ireland! Douglas.

Many regulations might be ſuggeſted, eſpecially with regard to the Land-tax, which would enrich Ireland inſtead of impoveriſhing it. Any tax, which promotes induſtry and encourages a circulation of labour, enriches a country; and in the ſame proportion, a country is neceſſarily impoveriſhed by any tax which checks induſtry and ſtops labour: if a * land tax were laid upon Ireland under certain regulations, it would fill the towns with induſtrious inhabitants, and the country with laborious cottagers and working farmers. Thus a race of men would ariſe, who would create a demand for manufactures, and a home conſumption: and † without home conſumption foreign trade cannot flouriſh. But at preſent the great maſs of the Iriſh are ſo deſtitute of food, raiment, and lodging, (the foundation of all commerce, Dean Tucker.

‖ See 7th Reſolution of the Britiſh Commons.

* A Land tax, ſo regulated as that the poorer claſs, and thoſe poſſeſſed of no more than half an acre, ſhould be exempt from it, and that larger farms ſhould be *proportionably* burthened, would be productive of the beſt effects. For inſtance, let a farm under 50 acres, with an houſe, be ſubject to three pence per acre; under 100 acres, with an houſe, to ſix pence; and all lands and farms of greater extent, and not ſo circumſtanced, to two ſhillings per acre.—From the time when the Land tax was laid upon England, the great improvement of landed eſtates may date its origin; and may be, in a great meaſure, attributed to the permanency of that tax, which remained always the ſame, without fluctuation, and operated as a quit-rent, to ſpur on the farmer to improvement: he knows that, however he may increaſe the value of his land, he cannot be called on for any greater proportion, and that however his negligence may ſuffer his land to lie uncultivated or run to waſte, he is ſubject to no leſs, but that his quota of Land tax *muſt* be paid. Dean TUCKER.

† Mr. Pitt eſtimates the profits of the home trade, in Britain, at 28 millions, and thoſe of the foreign trade at only 12 millions.

merce, the moſt brilliant and extenſive), that they are no cuſtomers to the community, nor is their conſumption any encouragement to trade.

*Ireland bound to ſupport the credit of Great Britain now.*

But, even if that greateſt object of alarm, were to take place, and Ireland, by an Union, were to become ſubject to the national debt of Great Britain, and were called on to ſupply her quota to its diſcharge, (which is indeed a mere fiction of the imagination, not capable of being realized) ſtill would not Ireland on this account be in a worſe ſituation, than at this moment; for though not legally, yet *effectively* Ireland is now pledged to ſupport, with her reſources, the credit of Great Britain. If the debt of Great Britain were to be effaced by a bankruptcy, that calamity would be followed by the failure, and conſequent penury of an immenſe number of perſons, who now conſume or traffic in articles of Iriſh fabric and export; from thence would neceſſarily follow a ſtagnation of Iriſh trade, a ceſſation of demand and encouragement, and a depreſſion of induſtry. As conſumption was diminiſhed, the value of lands and houſes would fall, and the elegant arts, which thrive by the overflow of opulence would decline. Beſides, it is the credit of Great Britain, which gives efficacy to her reſources: her credit is the lever by which ſhe moves mankind and influences the tranſactions of the world. If the artificial power of Britain were ſubverted, Ireland would be left without encouragement to improve, and without protection to preſerve what ſhe has,—a prey to the rapacity of France, ſhould the power of that nation laſt;—or elſe a ſubject of conteſt, among the factions of the European ſtates. M'Kenna.

*Union will effect reform.*

An Union would ſerve alſo to gratify the *real* well-wiſhers of thoſe two great popular meaſures, which have ſo long agitated the country,* exciting the hopes of one party and the fears of the other, *Reform of Parliament*, and *Catholic emancipation*. It has already been ſhewn that the claims of the Roman Catholics would be favoured by ſuch a meaſure. A reform would alſo be effected in Parliament; for as the number of Iriſh repreſentatives would be confined perhaps to 100, among whom here would be 64 members for counties, and ſome for cities and large towns, the greater part of the boroughs, and with them the borough influence in the Commons Houſe, would be cut off, and thus, though by a ſmaller number, the people would be *as fully and freely* repreſented as they now are. Peel.

*AGAINST*

* Spencer, Taaffe, 61.

# *AGAINST*, A LEGISLATIVE UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND;

## ARGUMENTS *POLITICAL*, RESPECTING THE *INTERNAL* INTERESTS, PEACE, AND PROSPERITY OF IRELAND.

*Union will not strengthen Ireland.*

Foſter. IT is an exaggeration and an inſult to the feelings of Iriſhmen, who know the falſehood of the aſſertion, to repreſent Ireland, as the vulnerable part of the Empire, torn by contending factions; and if ſuch a ſtatement were true, it would betray the moſt glaring want of prudence, and policy, thus to declare to the enemy, the weakneſs, and diſunion of the Empire.* In whatever degree the country

Bousfield. may be expoſed to the attacks of the enemy, that danger ariſes to it, not from its independence, but from the deſtructive meaſures of the Miniſter, which have ſo long embroiled theſe kingdoms in a deſolating war.

Foſter. But the enemy, knows that ſuch weakneſs is not the condition of Ireland; he knows that ſhe is firmly united to Great Britain, in intereſt and affection: and it is of no conſequence to him, in what manner her municipal laws may cement or qualify that Union. A roll of parchment will neither change the inclinations of ſecret enemies within the realm, or deprive them of the means of giving the expected aſſiſtance to their friends, nor will it ſtrengthen the affections, the intereſts, or the reſources of that part of the Empire. It was the energy of the legiſlature, that diſcomfited the late attempts to promote rebellion; and the depriving ſo large a kingdom of that legiſlature, will give to the ſecret partizans of the enemy a larger field for action, and more

Goold. power to act with vigor. And a powerful invitation is held out to France to renew her attempts on Ireland, by the view of a meaſure forced upon the people, ſo notoriouſly contrary to their inclinations; for ſhe may well conclude, that diſguſt and diſunion will much abate the zeal of thoſe who before reſiſted her arms and influence.

Foſter. But, granting the poſition of the weakneſs of Ireland and of the effects of an Union in working a remedy, ſtill it is not adequate to the danger. For the peril, to which Ireland is ſaid to be expoſed, are inſtant, and the remedy propoſed muſt be a work of time, and its effects remote; though the diſguſt it may occaſion, will be immediate. And the

* Smith, 40.

the chief dangers of Ireland, which arise from its geographical relation to France, and its physical position on the globe, cannot possibly be removed by an Union, for these causes admit of no change. Cease your Funning. Anon.

If energy in the government of a country were the sole object to be provided for, the administration should be put into the hands of a single Prince. But there are other considerations paramount to this, however desirable; and for that reason the British constitution is a system of checks, which, while they lessen the energy of government, secure the freedom of the country. And there is no pretence for saying that any increase of energy is required by the government of these realms: the Irish Parliament never yet has hesitated to come forward, with its full share of contribution and support to the exigencies of the Empire. Tit for Tat. Anon.

It is said that an Union will tranquillize Ireland: but the great misfortune of the country, from whence flow its internal discord, and the weakness of the laws, which ought to preserve tranquillity, is derived from the intervention of *middlemen*, between the proprietor and the occupier of the soil, and these are chiefly to be found on the estates of Absentees. If a resident Parliament, and resident gentry cannot soften the manners, amend the habits, and promote social intercourse, it is not likely to be effected by removing the Parliament and lessening the number of the gentry, at once depriving the country of their influence, and giving room for the increase of the pernicious class of middlemen. It is generally understood that the affections of the lower ranks are best conciliated, their manners most effectually improved, and good morals and habits of order most strongly promoted, by the example of the upper ranks, by their attention to the education, health, and comforts of their surrounding neighbours and dependents; and that veneration for the laws, and attachment to the country which affords them the blessings they enjoy, are chiefly to be inculcated by that benevolent protection, which every estate and every village ought to derive from its resident landlord, in the easy and impartial dispensation of justice, and the allaying those little feuds, which headstrong passions, untamed by education, are apt to carry to the last excesses. But the effects of the system now proposed, will be to deprive the kingdom of that beneficial class of men, to encourage land jobbers, and to degrade the hospitality of the ancient mansions into the penury of an agent's dwelling. *Will not tranquillize Ireland.* Foster,

It is impossible that it can be as much within the reach of a Parliament unacquainted with local circumstances, and at & Spencer.

too great a distance to receive information in time * for administering to the wants, and wishes of the people, or for guarding against their discontents and excesses, in such a manner beneficially for the country; as of a legislature which by being resident on the spot, is acquainted with all the habits, prejudices and dispositions of their fellow subjects, and knows how to apply relief.

Foster, All the various consequences that may result from a change of system, even in a small affair, are not easily foreseen; but the difficulty is much increased when the change respects so stupendious a work as the constitution of a great Empire. If therefore the existing system go on practically, though it may have some, and even great speculative imperfections, it is rash to attempt a change, on the suggestions even of the most clear and persuasive theory. The most plausible theory is often defeated by practice; thus in the instance of *Juries from the Vicinage*, the theory of Justice might object to them, as being liable to prejudices, friendships, and animosities, which might bias their decision, and which would not affect men collected from a more remote situation: and yet long experience has proved that what might have been apprehended, as an imperfection in this mode of trial, is that in which consists its great and peculiar excellence. Practice, in like manner refutes that theory, which supposes that the resident Irish Parliament may be influenced by the local prejudices and partialities of the country, whose interests are the objects of its concern, and which would, therefore, place those interests in the hands of a foreign Parliament, ignorant of all attending circumstances. Experience, in this instance also, shews that local knowledge is the very essence of the capability of Parliament to administer its functions. And Parliament sitting in Great Britain, could have developed the & Spencer, & Ld. Farnham. secret system of conspiracy, which has lately degraded Ireland; — or could have animated the loyal, and supported the executive power with the same effect, as did the Irish Parliament. The requisite concurrence of the legislature to the wise and necessary measure, of proclaiming Martial Law, could not have arrived in time, from London: and the support, derived from a Parliament, composed, for the most part, of strangers, and sitting in another country, would have been but very faint, in comparison with the impression made on the public mind, by the consciousness of its sitting, from Irishmen, all liable to the dangers of its operation, and all yielding up themselves and their property to its control. Personal character, respect for individuals, opinion of their attachment to their country where their stake lies, and in whose preservation and glory their interests, as well as their hearts

* Douglas, 46. † Ibid. 47.

hearts are engaged, must have an irresistible effect on the people. On the other hand, by the removal of the legislature, not only such powerful means of strengthening the hands of government are lost, but at the same time, all means of control over the executive department of Ireland are taken away, and the country is left to the absolute disposal of the Minister or his deputy in Ireland. Sheehy.

Much reliance is placed upon the lamentable picture that is drawn with studied exaggeration, of the dissensions and hostility which prevail between the different religious persuasions of Ireland. Such representations are calculated only to create jealousy and distrust, and to foment any ill-will that may already exist. But the experience of the last twenty years proves the falsehood of the assertion; for during that period the Protestants have been constantly removing the burthens which oppressed the Romanists. The latter have expressed the highest gratitude; the professors of the two religions became as one family, and the most perfect cordiality appeared to subsist between them. Lord Farnham.

Those disputes and contentions, that arise from religious difference, are not the necessary consequence of a variety of religions, but the effect of the crooked policy of Great Britain, which has ever labored to keep alive and foment the spirit of bigotry and mutual hatred; in order the more easily to maintain her despotic sway over a divided country. An Union is not likely therefore to change her line of policy in that respect. It is not from any attachment or preference for that religion, that the British cabinet is induced to support the Protestant faction; but because the Protestants, being the minority, feel not as a nation for the honor and independence of the country, and are ready to sacrifice to it the rights and interests of that country. Taaffe, & Sheehy.

It is absurd to suppose that in points of internal policy, or in the arrangements with regard to religion and the claims of the Roman Catholics, a foreign uninformed assembly, can be a more competent judge, or better qualified to decide, than an Irish Parliament well acquainted with the grounds and extent of the claims, and with the local circumstances, upon which may depend the danger, or the expediency of compliance. An Union, therefore, cannot allay religious differences, nor remove the causes of dissentent. Indeed the argument commonly drawn from this topic by the advocates of Union, amounts only to this: to the Protestant it says, Catholic emancipation cannot *be refused* unless there be an Union; and to the Roman Catholic it says, Catholic emancipation cannot *be granted* till there is an Union. *Will not settle religious disputes.* Foster. Cease your Funning.

Lord Farnham. But in fact the Roman Catholics will have much leſs room for hope, in caſe of an Union, than they have now. No diſtinction can then be made between the Roman Catholic of the United Kingdoms. Either thoſe of Britain muſt be raiſed to the level of the Iriſh Romaniſt, or the Iriſh muſt be lowered to that of the Britiſh. But Great Britain has not ſhewn any diſpoſition to afford relief to her own ſubjects of that perſuaſion, and an attempt to remove the teſt laws, failed not long ſince. It is not probable then, that in the United Parliament, where this adjuſtment muſt be determined, the great Britiſh majority will concede to the Iriſh minority. The ſtandard of adjuſtment then, it appears likely, would be lowered, and thus Lord Auckland has directly expreſſed his opinion, "that the meaſure of indulgences granted to the "Catholics of England ought to guide the diſcretion of Go-"vernment with regard to the Catholics of Ireland."

Taaffe. And with regard to the danger, with which the property of Proteſtants is threatened, from the aſcendancy, which the Romaniſts might by their numbers obtain, if admitted into Parliament, it is but falſe and illuſory. Suppoſing it even likely that the proportion of property in the hands of Proteſtants, which is, to that of the Roman Catholics, as one hundred to one, could ever allow ſuch an aſcendancy to take place.

For much the greater part of the Romaniſts poſſeſſed of property derive their title from Proteſtants, either by leaſe or purchaſe, and conſequently, in deſtroying the title of the latter, they would equally invalidate their own. As to the ſearching out the ancient heirs of eſtates, and re-eſtabliſhing the forfeited titles, it might as well be apprehended, that they ſhould recur to the predeceſſors of the Mileſians for the true proprietor. Beſides when the majority of Parliament were Papiſts, and great forfeitures had been recently made by Papiſts, no attempt was made for their recovery, or to wreſt them out of the hands of Proteſtants.

Taaffe. An Union is no way neceſſary to the arrangement of tythes; a modification of them may as well take place, and may be equally ſatisfactory with an Union.

*Will not invite Engliſh ſettlers.* Foſter. But the number of Engliſh ſettlers, it is ſaid, who will be invited over by an Union, will introduce Engliſh manners and cuſtoms into Ireland: admirable however, and deſirable as theſe are, they are not worth the ſacrifice of Iriſh character; if ſuch was to be the effect of an Union. The fact is, that no inducement will be offered by an Union. Adventurers will not be inticed to ſettle in Ireland—by the removal of the Legiſlature, of the men of fortune, and men of talents, thoſe, to whom, in their ſchemes of traffic they muſt look, for ſucceſs, as their principal cuſtomers. The reſidence of

Engliſhmen

Engliſhmen in Ireland is, on account of the unuſual number of Britiſh forces quartered there, now greater than any that can be expected from an Union, and of a more uſeful kind; becauſe the privates being of the ſame rank, mix with thoſe claſſes, that ſtand moſt in need of improvement, and require examples of manners and civiliſation. In time of war, numbers of Engliſh ſoldiers come to Ireland, without an Union; in time of peace, an Union could not have the effect of bringing thoſe over, as ſoldiers.

Scotland has been united to England for almoſt a century, and Wales above five centuries; yet Engliſh manners and habits have never been able to eſtabliſh themſelves, ſo far even as to bring the Engliſh language into full uſe, nor to obtain for them in England the character of natives; for a conſtant ſource of jealouſy is furniſhed to that country, by the multitudes of Scotchmen, who puſh their fortunes ſucceſsfully in England, in all profeſſions and departments, and no pains can prevail upon the Engliſh to acknowledge them as countrymen. Ceaſe your Funning.

An Union can hold out no inducement to Britiſh ſettlers that has not been of equal force, for theſe laſt eighteen years; it is the genius of a Briton, though he ſearch the world for gain, to concentrate at laſt his riches and his enjoyments in his own country. The great emigrations, which peopled North America, were the effects of peculiar circumſtances, of religious and political diſputes under the reign of the Stuarts; and though it might again happen that ſimilar cauſes might produce like effects, yet it never would be in poor enſlaved provincial Ireland, that the covetous Engliſhman, who had once taſted liberty, would ſeek for refuge. Bousfield.

*Will not increaſe population.*

Population is by no means likely to be increaſed by an Union; for that of Ireland is already in a much higher proportion to the extent of the territory, than the population of England; and, by this meaſure, the management of all thoſe concerns, on which depends the encouragement of population, will be removed from the kingdom;—the control of all meaſures neceſſary for the promotion of agriculture, commerce, manufactures, fiſheries, &c. but, above all, of the public purſe. The immenſe National debt of Great Britain, and the conſequent weight of taxes, have prevented any increaſe almoſt in the population of England, for theſe laſt fifty years. Goold.

*Will injure Ireland.*

Not only, the benefits held out to Ireland as the probable effects of an Union, are falſe and deluſive, but the conſequences of that meaſure would be poſitively injurious. By increaſing the number of Abſentees, it will reduce a ſtill larger Foſter,

*Abſentees.* & Spencer, & Bousfield, & Rudd, & Taaffe, & Weld, & Anon.

larger portion of the landed property of Ireland, to the miſerable condition in which the eſtates of abſent landlords are uſually found. Every member choſen to the United Parliament muſt become a new abſentee, for no man, now an abſentee, can expect to be choſen; * and as, he muſt be a man of conſiderable property, to be able to bear the expences of parliamentary attendance, a large part of the property of the kingdom would thus be continually drained from it; and the loſs of ſo great a portion of the men of fortune would deprive the manufacturers of their beſt cuſtomers.

Anon. The time, and expences required for attendance in Parliament would have the effect alſo, of excluding from that body the whole bar, the whole commercial intereſts, and every gentleman who attends to the cultivation of his eſtate or has any ſort of occupation, leaving the intereſts of the country in the hands of the idle and the ignorant.

Taaffe. By habituating the riſing generation, to hear Ireland ſpoken of with contempt, in a country where its inhabitants are deſpiſed, an Union will alienate the minds of Iriſhmen from their country, fill them with prejudices againſt it, induce them to treat it with the contempt and injuſtice that they ſee beſtowed on it, by thoſe with whom they aſſociate; and domeſticated in England from generation to generation, will change them into mere Engliſhmen, with Iriſh eſtates, who will be no more inclined to pay attention to the intereſts of Ireland, than the multitudes of that deſcription, already members of the Britiſh legiſlature.

Foſter. Beſides, an Union propoſes the poſſibility of a period, when all protecting duties are to ceaſe: the very notion of ſuch a proſpect may check the further expenditure of money, and induce individuals to draw in their capital, and look to the winding up of their buſineſs, againſt that period, when the ceſſation of all protection, muſt leave the infant manufactures to decay. Agriculture will decline, from the uncertainty of the Corn laws being continued; for the ſame principle, by which the bounty on the carriage of corn, was diſcontinued, from one part of the Kingdom to the other, may, by ſimilar reaſoning, be extended by the United Parliament, to the whole of the United Empire. Every law, and regulation now valued and relied on, may be ſubject to repeal by a foreign Parliament, difficult of acceſs, and ignorant of the local cauſes that gave riſe to them.

Spencer, & Taaffe. An Union will abſorb the queſtion † of parliamentary reform, and deſtroy the national dignity, honour, and importance of Ireland. It partakes ſtrongly of a revolutionary hue, and the

* Pitt, Smith, Douglas, 48. † M'Kenna, 53.

the degradation of the nobility, and extinction of the legislature, which would accompany the measure, might shake the crown upon the King's head, and would probably lead to revolution and separation. Bousfield, & Anon.

New laws equal in appearance and alike in phrase, may be very unequal in effect in different countries; for instance, the same mode of taxation, which is suitable to a country already arrived at the maturity of wealth and commerce, may be destructive to a poor country, young in trade and manufactures. Foster,

It is the interest of the one to borrow money, rather than raise an income by taxes, for the expences of a war; because the prospect of increasing prosperity offers the certain means of paying the debt gradually, and a sufficient increase of annual taxation to meet the exigency, might curb her spirit of enterprise. But, the other having the trade of the world in her hands, has no reason to expect any extension of her resources upon the return of peace, and ought rather to apprehend a decrease; she therefore ought to take advantage of her temporary affluence, and raise an annual income to support her expences, rather than incur a debt, which no increase of riches is likely to enable her, with greater facility, to discharge.

The inhabitants of Cork have been induced by some vague hopes of benefit to be derived to them from an Union, to express themselves in favour of that measure; but, in fact, no part of Ireland is more exposed to injury from it, than that city. The only manufactures established there or in the neighbourhood are the woollen and cotton, neither of which can be promoted in Ireland by an Union: it cannot, in any way, increase her powers of export, or import; nor can it ever render her an emporium or depôt for foreign goods.† An Union then offers no hope to Cork, unless it be the establishment of a naval dockyard; but even to this it could furnish no one possible inducement, that does not now equally exist. There has hitherto been no impediment to the establishment of a dockyard there, but the natural situation of the place, which has not appeared to be useful or desirable for the purpose. In the course of almost a century, the effects of an Union has not produced a single dockyard for the navy, in Scotland. But, if the establishment of a naval station at Cork, were to be the certain consequence of an Union, the prospect ought not to mislead the wishes of that city, for it is not, in itself, a desirable object; the effect of it would probably prove prejudicial. Plymouth and Portsmouth are the finest harbours, and the best situated for trade in *Will injure Cork.* & Anon. Foster.

¶ Smith, 50. † See Commercial Arguments.

in England; and yet no trade exiſts, where thoſe great naval dockyards are eſtabliſhed. Milford Haven is a magnificent harbour, and, though abandoned as a naval ſtation, it has not, however recovered any of the trade, that it formerly enjoyed.

The two grand articles of export from Cork,—corn and proviſions,—are liable to be much affected by the injuries, to which agriculture may be expoſed; eſpecially, as the demand for proviſions has latterly run to much greater extent in the article of pork, than in that of beef: for pork depends much upon agriculture, and with its decline the pork trade muſt fall. Their proviſion trade, in this as well as the other article, beef, may be again obſtructed and ruined, by thoſe embargoes, which have ſo frequently already ſacrificed the intereſt of Cork to the avarice of a Britiſh contractor; a grievance for which an Iriſh Parliament only, was able to obtain redreſs.

Anon. But, if the expectations of Cork were well founded, and the greateſt advantages were to flow into that city from an Union, ſtill juſtice muſt reſiſt any meaſure that would benefit Cork or any other diſtrict, at the expence of the reſt of the kingdom, and by the depreſſion of ſome other part. And at the ſame time, this partial exaltation, by affording a pretence for increaſing the public burthens, would prove injurious to the very part, which might reap the profit, and totally ruinous, perhaps, to the reſt, already impoveriſhed by the ſame circumſtance.

*Will ruin Dublin.* Sir J. Jervis, & Goold, & Taaffe, & Anon. & Weld, & Rudd. The proſperity of Dublin would be deſtroyed, her ſplendor would be effaced, and her ſtreets would become a deſert: her halls, her univerſity,* her courts of law would be ſilent, and her future ſtate would reſemble the ruined walls of Babylon. Deſerted by her Parliament, and her reſident gentry, the loſs of trade would ſoon follow, and carry with it, the ſpeedy reduction of rents, not only in Dublin, and its vicinity, but in every part of Ireland.

*The time improper.* Spencer. If an Union of the legiſlatures of Great Britain and Ireland were neceſſary to the welfare of Ireland, that meaſure ought long ſince to have been concluded, at an earlier period, before habits were confirmed.† For if it be a political maxim that innovation is dangerous, the force of it muſt increaſe with the magnitude and irrevocability of the meaſure. The preſent at leaſt is an ill-choſen time to bring it forward; it is imprudent when the country is in ſuch a ſtate of agitation, to furniſh a new cauſe of diſtraction and contention; or while France

* Pitt, Smith, Tucker, 50. † Douglas, 20.

France is endeavouring to propagate her democratical principles in Ireland, to remove from thence the preſence and protection of the Britiſh conſtitution in its outward and viſible ſigns.

It is neither generous nor juſt, to bring forward the propoſal for an Union, at a moment when the country is diſtracted with the horrors of a recent rebellion, is expoſed to all the calamities of an actual war, and apprehended invaſion, and ſtill languiſhes under the terror of new commotions; and while there are in the heart of the country 40,000 Britiſh ſoldiers. The choice of ſuch a moment to ſeduce the people, or the uſe of ſuch means to force them into any meaſure, is a ſtrong argument of the notorious averſion that the country bears to it, and of the diſadvantage, that is known to be the probable conſequence of it to the kingdom. Bousfield, & Weld, & Sheehy, & Anon. multitude.

But whatever might be the happy effects of a fair and equitable Union, it cannot be ſuppoſed that Ireland can be entitled to feel them: ſhe cannot treat fairly, or upon equal terms with Great Britain, as long as the Iriſh miniſters are named by thoſe of Britain, and are of courſe ſubject to their control. It is Britain negociating the terms with herſelf. *The mode unjuſt.* Anon.

Another argument in favour of an Union, is drawn from the ſuppoſed degeneracy of the Iriſh Parliament. So great, ſay they, is its venality and corruption, that it is not fit to be truſted with the concerns of the country. This is the common outcry of United Iriſhmen and their partiſans, againſt the government; and, if it be true, may be a ſtrong argument in favour of the *reform*, but cannot be one for the *abolition* of that body: neither does it appear to be a well judged method of purifying a corrupt body, to plunge it into the midſt of a larger one, equally vitiated; and placed, beſides, at ſo great a diſtance from thoſe conſtituents, who might have the power of control over theſe venal members, as is beyond the reach of their influence or their obſervation. Taaffe, & Anon.

Perhaps it may be true, that Ireland is governed by Britiſh counſels, and that Engliſh influence predominates in her Parliament, ſo as to render her independence but a name; but it does not ſeem to be a very adequate remedy for ſuch an evil, to tranſport the Parliament into that country, by which it is ſaid to be too much influenced, at ſo great a diſtance; and whoſe voice it will no longer have the power to reſiſt. Rudd, & Anon.

The example of the American ſtates, in preferring an incorporative to a federal Union, is not applicable to the caſe of Ireland; becauſe at the time of its adoption, the ſtates were all equally in a ſtate of infancy; they had nothing to gain from each other, nor any thing to give up, either commercial or conſtitutional. But Ireland has her own legiſlature, ſhe has Ceaſe your Fanning.

has independence, ſhe has freedom of commerce, and growing wealth. Neither are the effects of the meaſure in America ſuch as to invite imitation; for the ſtates have ever ſince been haraſſed and agitated by the influence of French intrigue.

Ditto, & Rudd. If from the incorporation of Geneva, Savoy, Belgium, &c. with France, any other argument can be deduced, than of the rapacity and ambition of the French republic, it is, of the neceſſity in which Ireland is placed, of guarding with all poſſible precaution, againſt a ſimilar meaſure, which may reduce her to a ſimilar ſtate of ſubjection, under the dominion of *her* powerful incorporating neighbour.

JN

## IN *FAVOUR* OF A LEGISLATIVE UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

### ARGUMENTS *COMMERCIAL*.

*Union will ſecure preſent advantages.* Pitt,

AN Union would procure for Ireland the *ſecure and permanent* poſſeſſion of thoſe advantages, which in the preſent ſituation of things, ſhe neceſſarily enjoys but as contingent and precarious.

In 1785 it was ſtated by thoſe gentlemen who were beſt acquainted with the ſubject, that theſe advantages on the balance of trade were very great in favour of Ireland.* At preſent the trade is ſtill more advantageous; Ireland imports of the manufactured produce of Great Britain to the amount of *one* million, on which ſhe raiſes a revenue, by way of duty: while Iriſh manufactures to the amount of between *four* and *five* millions are imported into England, *duty free*; and that too, in linen, and proviſions, the great articles of Iriſh manufacture.

All raw materials, all articles neceſſary to the trade or ſubſiſtence of Ireland are ſent thither from Britain, *duty free*. The linen exported from Ireland, conſtitutes four-fifths of the Iriſh export trade to the whole world; and for the proſperity of this manufacture ſhe is indebted to, and dependant on Britain: the Britiſh Parliament has furniſhed a market for Iriſh linens to the amount of three millions; and by the bounty on re-exportation affords her a double market, and enſures to her an advantage in competition with the linens of other countries, of 30 per cent.

*Will procure others.*

But the effects of an Union will not be merely a confirmation of theſe advantages: † for a fairer and more perfect connexion of the two countries muſt lead to an equality of commercial advantages, and ultimately tend to the benefit of both countries.

*Thoſe now enjoyed, the gift of Britain.* &Ld. Auckland.

Thoſe now enjoyed by Ireland, are not to be aſcribed to the Iriſh Parliament, but, if traced to their true ſource, will be found to have flowed from the voluntary and diſcretionary grants of the Britiſh Parliament, conferred from a regard for the intereſts of the Iriſh nation, as inſeparably connected with the welfare of the empire; and that, in ſpite of rivalſhip and jealouſy, at a time when the Parliaments were ſeparate, when it was not *certain* whether what was given to Ireland, was given to Britain alſo, and when the countries were but partially and imperfectly united: there can therefore be no well grounded appre-



* Imports 1,000,000 to 4,500,000 of exports.
† Bousfield, 88. Taaffe, Rudd, 89.

penſions that Britain, if it were in her power, ſhould be inclined to reſume grants ſo made, from Ireland when parliamentarily united to herſelf, and identified in intereſts. But it would not be in her power ſo to do, becauſe Ireland, in caſe of an Union, would have the ſecurity of a firm and irrevocable compact for that, which *now* reſts on the independent diſcretion of the Britiſh Parliament.

*Union will invite Britiſh capital.* Smith, & Douglas.

An Union, by promoting tranquillity, and ſecuring the Britiſh connexion, will have the effect of increaſing the commerce of Ireland, and inviting over Britiſh capital; for when property ſhall be rendered perfectly ſecure by the removal of internal convulſion; when all *diſtinctneſs* of intereſt between the two kingdoms, and all *poſſibility* of ſeparation ſhall be done away, there will remain no impediment, to hinder the Britiſh capitaliſt from availing himſelf of the natural advantages of Ireland, and of the cheapneſs of labour and proviſions, &c. in that kingdom;* becauſe there will be no political difference between the iſlands, and the proſperity of Ireland will be equally the proſperity of Great Britain.

*Many branches of induſtry open.* Anon.

And, if the aſſertion were true that there are natural cauſes to prevent the *principal* manufacturers of England from profiting by theſe circumſtances and flouriſhing in Ireland;† ſtill, there are other branches in which capital may be veſted, with equal advantage,—as in agriculture, in the proviſion trade, in the linen manufacture, &c. Nor is it fair to argue, that becauſe the ſmall advantages held out, in ſome particular branches, have failed by their encouragement to draw over the Britiſh adventurer under the preſent ſyſtem, he may not find his account even without thoſe encouragements in ſettling there, under ſuch a change of circumſtances as would produce ſecurity of property, and tranquillity. There is no probability, however, that the encouragements alluded to would ceaſe upon an Union, or that the bounties, whether actual or conſtructive, or the regulations whether internal or relative, which now ſerve to promote the infant manufactures of Ireland, would be removed, as long as they may continue to be requiſite, by an imperial legiſlature, whoſe intereſt it will be equally to promote the welfare of Ireland, with that of Great Britain or any other part of the empire.

By giving to Ireland the common uſe of Britiſh capital, it is meant, that the identification of the rights, intereſts, and privileges of the two countries, will induce the people of Great Britain, to employ their capital equally in either kingdom: each man preferring that ſpot in the empire, where he can carry on to the greateſt advantage his own branch of trade or manufacture: and the ſecurity of money being the ſame

* Foſter, Tit for Tat, 82. † Foſter, 83.

ſame in both countries, the money holders of England will be induced to lend their money with as much facility to merchants and manufacturers in Ireland, as to thoſe in the other iſland. Upon the alteration of the Iriſh conſtitution in 1782, immenſe ſums of money, which had been lent on Iriſh ſecurity, were called in; above 40,000l. were drawn out of Ireland at that period by the Earl of Mansfield alone.

It is in this manner that the trade of the Weſt Indies is carried on by Britiſh capital, though there are not any Britiſh manufactures eſtabliſhed there.

There is a variety of manufactures and branches of trade, in which Ireland might furniſh room for the advantageous employment of Britiſh capital. Some of the moſt profitable and moſt important to the nation, are the linen and leather manufactures; and the cultivation of waſte and unprofitable lands. The firſt is too well known, to require any exemplification of its value: as to the manufacture of leather, it may ſuffice to ſtate that Ireland exports yearly nearly 23,000 raw hides, and yet, for want of capital to carry on her works, ſhe imports manufactured articles of leather to an immenſe amount; and though, having the *free* importation of bark, ſhe can tan her own hides without any ſuch additional burthen as duties would impoſe, yet in her own market ſhe is underſold by Britiſh goods, which are there ſubject to an importation duty of 10 per cent. The cultivation of waſte lands, it has been ſtated by Mr. Arthur Young, would yield a profit of from 15 to 20 per cent. but it requires a conſiderable capital, as does alſo the adequate improvement of the cultivated parts of the iſland. Lord Auckland. Anon.

Another field for the employment of Britiſh capital may be found in the colonial trade; for, notwithſtanding the freedom of trade to the colonies, obtained in 1779, Ireland at this day imports colonial produce, to the value of more than a million, through Great Britain; while, for want of capital, ſhe does not import *directly* above the value of 140,000l. There is ſcarcely an inſtance of any conſiderable Britiſh houſe being engaged, in Ireland, in Iriſh partnerſhip. Lord Auckland.

Such were the advantages ſtated in 1785 by a moſt able politician,* as likely to reſult to Ireland from a partnerſhip with Great Britain: it was his opinion "that the cheapneſs of labour and proviſions, would invite the Britiſh ſettler, to a country ſituated in the neighbourhood of the rich, extended, and ſteady market of Great Britain, and that Ireland, with thoſe advantages, with a climate as good, equa natural powers, and fewer taxes, would be able to manufacture cheaper than England." Anon.

But

*Right Hon. John Foſter's Speech on the Propoſitions in Woodfall's Report, &c.

But ſince much weight has been laid, on the difficulty of introducing into Ireland what are called the principal and moſt profitable manufactures of Britain, (as if, for that reaſon, no others were admiſſible, or theſe alone were worth the purſuit) it may be proper to inveſtigate that matter with ſome attention.

*Principal manufactures of Great Britain may ſucceed in Ireland.*

There are ſtated four principal branches, which, it is ſaid, *cannot exiſt* in Ireland for want of fuel, the Woollen, the Cotton, the Pottery, and the Iron manufactures.* But this impediment,† which is ſtated as the principal one, is directly removed by a view of the fact; for it is well known that Collieries exiſt (and are prevented only by want of capital from being worked to any extent) in the counties of Tipperary, Leitrim, Tyrone and Antrim, beſide thoſe ſo notorious in Kilkenny and Queen's county, which alone, according to the evidence of Mr. Evans, an Engineer of merit, given before the Iriſh Commons in 1783, are capable, if properly worked, of ſupplying annually 300,000 tons, delivered, by water carriage, at the diſtance of 40 miles, at ſo low a rate as 4½d. per hundred;—a lower price, than coals can be bought for at Leeds, Mancheſter, or Sheffield. Coals can alſo be furniſhed from England to moſt parts of Ireland, cheaper than they can be conveyed to many parts of England, where they are obliged to be brought by water carriage, on account of the heavy coaſting duties, which amount to 5s. 9d. per chaldron, and in the port of London to 9s. 5d. per chaldron.

*Coals exiſt.*

But theſe manufactures do not depend on the cheapneſs of the one article of fuel alone, though it be a matter of importance; but on that of all the articles neceſſary for carrying them on, ſuch as the raw material, labour, proviſions, taxes, the command of water, &c. &c.; and theſe may more than counterbalance any difference that there might be in the expence of fuel.

& Dr. Clarke.

*Woollen.*

The Woollen manufacture did once flouriſh ſo extenſively in Ireland as to excite the jealouſy of England, in the reign of William III. and, after the ſupply of her own market, to export to the annual value of £110,000.‡ At this day, there is in Ireland, an increaſing manufacture of Woollens, ſufficient to work up almoſt all her own wool (the export of

* For a more particular detail on this ſubject the Reader may have recourſe to the Speech of Lord Auckland in the Britiſh Houſe of Lords, April 11th, 1799: to that of the Right Hon. Sylveſter Douglas in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, April 22d, 1799: or to an anonymous pamphlet, entitled "Obſervations on that part of the Speaker's Speech, "which relates to Trade:" and Dr. Clarke's "Miſconceptions, Miſtatements, &c."

† Bouſfield, 88. ‡ Foſter, 83.

of which decreaſes every year) and that, carried on in parts of the country remote from any colliery. * The great woollen manufactures of Glouceſterſhire, Wiltſhire, Devonſhire and Norfolk, are ſituated where coals are not cheap. It is a fact, that, though wool is dearer in Ireland than in England, yet ſo much greater are the other relative advantages of the former, that in woollen, and worſted yarn, ſhe can conſiderably underſell the Engliſh: notwithſtanding which Ireland is obliged annually to import Woollen Cloths to the amount of near £700,000. Ld. Auckland.

The Cotton manufacture does not require, as an eſſential article, the neighbourhood of Fuel, for the machinery can be as well worked by water as by the ſteam engine, and at a cheaper rate.† There are now carrying on, ‡ in many places in Ireland, very conſiderable Cotton manufactures, which are daily increaſing, and which juſtify the opinions of the Engliſh manufacturers examined before Parliament in 1785, "that the ſuperior advantages enjoyed by Ireland would enable her, ſoon to beat them out of their own market; and, after paying 10½ per Cent. duty, to ſend her goods into the Engliſh market at a cheaper rate by 12 or 13 per Cent. than they could do." So confident were thoſe gentlemen in their opinion, that the greateſt manufacturers in Britain, Mr. Peel, Mr. Smith, &c. declared that they already endeavoured to obtain partnerſhips in Ireland, in caſe the reſolutions then depending ſhould paſs into a law. Still however, from the want of capital in Ireland, the importation of Britiſh cottons, amounts to £70,000 per Ann. *Cotton.* Ld. Auckland.

With regard to the Iron manufacture, it is ſufficient to repeat, that there are abundant collieries in the Kingdom; § and that the want of capital alone prevents the working of theſe, and the diſcovery of others: and to add, that there have been found there many ſpecies of Iron ſtone and ores, which are alſo neglected from the ſame cauſe; and that the Engliſh Iron manufacturers declared to the Houſe of Commons, their opinion that Ireland could underſell them, and would beat them out of the American market; though her want of capital impoſed on her the diſadvantage of being obliged to purchaſe her bar iron in England, at a dearer rate than ſhe could purchaſe it in Sweden or Ruſſia, for the ſake of the long credit, that England is able to give. Beſides, London, where coals are far dearer than in Dublin, as well as labour, proviſions, and taxes beyond compariſon, carries *Iron.*

on

* In Dublin, Cork, Bandon, Waterford, Liſmore, Tallow, Carrick on Shannon, &c. † Foſter, 83.

‡ At Celbridge, Proſperous, Malahide, Balbriggen, Drogheda, Belfaſt, Clonmell, Cork, Michelſtown, Kilmacthomas, Mountrath, &c.

§ Foſter, 82.

on very conſiderable Iron manufactures, in the coarſer articles, which occaſion the greateſt conſumption of fuel, ſuch
Douglas. as anchors, &c. In the manufacture of the ſmaller articles, the price of fuel makes ſcarcely any perceptible difference; their ſucceſs depends wholly on the labour and ſkill of the artizan; and notwithſtanding that labour is dearer where the manufacture of theſe articles is carried on (Sheffield and Birmingham) than in moſt parts of the world, yet England can underſell at the rate of, from 15 to 20 per cent. thoſe of the city of Liege, which has been long celebrated for its manufacture of Hardware, where labour and proviſions are cheaper than on moſt parts of the continent, and firing is procured at the very gates of the city.

*Pottery.* The value of the manufacture of Pottery depends almoſt wholly on the cheapneſs of labour; in this circumſtance Ireland has an evident advantage, ‡ as well as the neighbourhood of the raw material, flintſtones and clay; for both theſe articles are found in Ireland,* as well inland, as upon the coaſts, in abundance, and of the beſt quality; while the Engliſh potteries, ſituated in the centre of the Kingdom, bring their raw material from the coaſts of Cornwall, Wales, and Ireland. It was the opinion † both of Mr. Wedgewood, and of Mr. Brierly that England owed her ſuperiority in that branch of manufacture, to the ingenuity of the workmen alone, and that the natural advantages of Ireland would induce them to migrate to that country; as had already been the caſe in the glaſs manufacture, in which the Iriſh are arrived at ſo great a degree of perfection, as to be able to hold a competition with Britain; and that manufacture
Douglas. demands as great a ſupply of fuel as the Pottery. Thoſe gentlemen were alſo of opinion, that as the fine clay can be ſhipped on the coaſt for 6s. or 7s. per ton, but, on account of the inland carriage it ſtands them in Staffordſhire in £1 16 0—to £2 2 per ton, Ireland would have been able, if the propoſitions had paſſed, to have underſold them by 40 or 50 per cent.

Douglas. Becauſe Britiſh capital has not been veſted, nor Britiſh credit pledged in the eſtabliſhment of new manufactures in Ireland, or in the encouragement of thoſe already ſettled there, when there was no Union; it is thence *aſſumed*, that an Union will not furniſh any invitations, which might not have been expected, nor remove any obſtacles, which cannot be done away by other means. This is, however, a mere *petitio*

‡ Foſter, 83.

* See the evidence of Mr. Evans, engineer of the Grand Canal, before the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, in 1783.

† As delivered before the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, in 1785.

*petitio principii:* beſides, though Britiſh capital to any great amount has not actually ſettled in Ireland, yet it is not a correct inference from thence, that Britiſh money has had no influence in promoting the fabric of Iriſh linens, and other wares.

*Britiſh capital more uſed by Ireland.* Douglas.

The Iriſh manufacturers and merchants, in general, immediately on ſhipping their linens, draw for two-thirds of the value, on their agents or factors in England, though great part of theſe goods often remains in the hands of ſuch conſignee for ſix, or nine months, beſide the credit that he is obliged to give purchaſers, amounting commonly, to twelve or eighteen months more.

*Balance of trade in favour of Ireland.* Ld. Auckland, & Douglas, & Ann. Obſerv.

In the Commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland,* the balance of trade is ſo much in favour of the latter †, and the demand for her produce in the Britiſh market is ſo great an advantage; that Ireland could not in any way receive compenſation for the loſs that would accrue, from the ceſſation of that intercourſe.

Douglas.

Upon a general view of the exports and imports of each country to the other, as authentically reported in March, 1799, by Mr. Irving, Inſpector-General of the imports and exports of Great Britain; it appears, that in the interchange of the produce of the two iſlands, the balance in favour of Ireland is *three millions and a half*; and, including that of foreign merchandize, in which the balance is againſt Ireland, ſtill there remains in her favour a general balance of upwards of £2,000,000. and this depends on the commercial code, not of *Ireland*, but of *Great Britain*.

Thoſe arguments are unfair which attempt to do away this ſtatement,‡ by diſtinguiſhing the exports of Ireland into manufactured goods, and raw materials, which laſt, it is pretended, are of greater benefit, to the country importing, than the export is to that from whence they are ſent; and are therefore ſaid to incline the balance on that article, much in favour of England. But the articles there ſtated as raw materials, are in fact, the produce of agriculture, and articles of manufacture in the proviſion trade, as ſalt beef, pork, butter, &c. which employ a number of hands, and ought therefore to be claſſed under the head of manufacture, of which they are, to Ireland, a valuable and important branch. Beſides, ſimilar articles, as cheeſe, ſalted fiſh, &c. are claſſed among Britiſh exports as *manufactures*. Raw materials are thoſe only, which conſtitute the baſis of a ſubſequent manufacture. Thoſe

* See the Speech of the Right Hon. John Foſter in the Houſe of Commons, April 21, 1799. † Foſter, 77. ‡ Ibid. 77, &c.

There is another fallacy in the argument above alluded to; for that ſtatement not only deducts from the exported manufactures of Ireland, all the above articles, to the amount of near £3,000,000, but adds to the manufactures of Great Britain, on the other ſide of the account, what are called *Colonial manufactures*, amounting to £970,000. * But theſe are all raw materials, or articles of conſumption without manufacture, and above one-third not even the produce of the Britiſh colonies: † ſo that here a double fallacy is made uſe of, to prove that England reaps more profit, than Ireland, from their mutual intercourſe; firſt in cutting off the above, one of the manufactures of Ireland, and with a change of name, placing them againſt Great Britain; and ſecondly by ſwelling ſtill more the amount of Britiſh manufactures, with the addition of Indian merchandize, which is no part of them. Nor are any of thoſe articles, the importation of which into Britain is ſtated as being ſo much in favour of that country, of ſuch importance to her, as that ſhe cannot do without them, or ſupply herſelf elſewhere. In order to favour the Iriſh proviſions, Britain has prohibited the importation of that article, in time of peace, from all other countries, even the ſupply from America to the iſlands and fiſheries. It is evident, then, that ſhe does not *depend* on Ireland for a ſupply: and it was but very lately that Ireland was allowed to ſend her proviſions into England (in conſequence of which permiſſion the prices of the produce are trebled in Ireland), and at this day all the boaſted quantity of Beef, which that country ſupplies to England and her fleets, does not amount to one-third of the annual ſale at Douglas. Smithfield, in London, alone. It cannot be ſtated as a benefit conferred on Great Britain, that ſhe *is allowed* the carrying of foreign produce to Ireland, notwithſtanding the *power*, which Ireland has, were ſhe ſo inclined of importing direct; for in mercantile affairs the want of inclination is only another name for the want of means, of which Ireland is abſolutely deſtitute, and therefore incapable of taking that trade out of the hands of Britain.

To ſhew the comparative value of the Britiſh market to Ireland, it is enough to ſtate, from Mr. Irving's report, that of the whole exports of Ireland, 6-7ths are to Great Britain and her colonies; and that with each of theſe the balance of trade

* In the ſtatement alluded to, this ſum, £970,000 is, by miſtake, *twice* charged againſt Britain, firſt under the head of Britiſh manufactures; and again, as foreign produce, which occaſion a very conſiderable error in the balance.

† The article of Tea alone, the produce of China, amounts to £367,887.

trade is in favour of Ireland; while, in the other seventh, consisting of her trade with all the rest of the world, the balance is against Ireland; that Britain does not raise on the goods imported from Ireland more than the *Hundred and fortieth* part of her Customs, of which *two sevenths* are expended in favour of Ireland by bounties on the re-exportation of Irish linens: and that the trade of Britain with Ireland amounts not to *one-ninth* of her whole trade, and her exported manufactures to Ireland, to no more than a *twentieth* of her whole export, while on these Ireland raises nearly *one-half* of her duties.

It should be added, that of the raw materials imported by Ireland from Great Britain, some of the most essential to the manufactures are of such a kind, as she can neither raise herself, nor procure elsewhere, unless at a greater charge than the article is capable of bearing.

*Prosperity of the Linen manufacture due to Great Britain.*

The increase and prosperity of the Linen manufacture is, in a great degree, owing to the British duties on foreign linens imported, and to bounties on the re-exportation of Irish;‖ for, if foreign linens labouring under a duty of 36½ per cent. on an average* can yet find their way at all into the British market, it is evident that, without such a protection, the Irish would have been driven out by them. England is certainly entitled to acknowledgment for her kindness, in this respect, because it is notorious, that the foreign duties, imposed in return on her woollens, have injured their sale in the foreign market, and because she thus obliges herself to purchase her linens at a higher rate by 36½ per cent. (beside the difference by which the foreign linens would be able if there were no duty, to undersell the Irish) than she could do, if such duties were not imposed.† Douglas.

It is however of no consequence to the present question to enquire what were the motives, which induced England to take those measures, which have served for the encouragement of the Irish Linen manufacture; it is sufficient to consider that, *such* has been the effect,‡ and that the continuance Smith.

‖ Bottero &c.

* It is stated by Mr. Douglas, on an average of the whole, to amount to about 45 per cent.; by Dr. Clarke also.

† This difference of price, together, amounts, on 30 millions of yards of Irish linen, and 11 millions of foreign linen, consumed in Great Britain, to £1,184,333, and this, with the bounties on the re-export of Irish linens, viz. £29,232, makes the sum of £1,213,565, the absolute expence to which England puts herself for the encouragement of the Linen manufacture of Ireland. Douglas, &c.

‡ The duty on foreign linens has served between the years 1785 and 1798 to alter the proportions of Irish, and foreign linen consumed in Great Britain as follows: in 1785, there were consumed of Irish, 18,500,000 yards;—of foreign 19,000,000 yards. In 1798 of Irish, 28,871,334 yards;—of foreign 11,748,164 yards. And in consequence

Douglas, ance of them *now* depends ſolely on the will of Great Britain. It is argued, indeed, that without the protecting duty Iriſh linens would maintain their ground in the Britiſh market, becauſe, notwithſtanding the late riſe of 35 per cent. upon their price, merchants ſtill purchaſe them with avidity. This extraordinary riſe is owing to the reduced quantity manufactured on the continent; to the greatly increaſed demand, during the war, occaſioned by the conſumption of the armies, and of South America, which was formerly ſupplied by Germany, but now takes a large portion circuitouſly from Ireland; and to the unwiſe ſpeculations, which both theſe circumſtances have induced, and which alone have prevented the riſe on the price of foreign linens from being *fully* equal to that on Iriſh: but as the price abroad has nearly kept pace with it, it is evident that from that increaſe of price in Ireland, no countervailing argument can be drawn, againſt the neceſſity to Ireland of the Britiſh duties on foreign linens.

The export bounty in Great Britain of 12 per cent. has operated it is ſaid very much in favour of Britiſh linens, viz.—as 12 per cent. on them, and only as 5½ per cent. on Iriſh, the remainder barely compenſating the expences of freight, carriage, &c. and by this unequal encouragement, which makes a difference of 6½ per cent. has ſo increaſed the quantity of Britiſh linen exported, that, from being *equal* in 1763, the bounty paid on Britiſh re-exported, was in 1798, to that on Iriſh, as 82 to 25: but if this be the caſe, it is plainly to be inferred from thence that if 5½ per cent. could operate ſo greatly in favour of Britiſh linens, the operation of the remaining 6½ per cent. in favour of Iriſh linens, as oppoſed to foreign, muſt at leaſt be of as great moment to them.

Theſe advantages derived to the great ſtaple manufacture of Ireland, from the conſumption of Britain, and from the meaſures, which the legiſlature of that country has taken for its encouragement, are very generally admitted; but, in order to obviate any claim that Britain might from thence lay to an acknowledgment of liberality on her part, it is aſſerted that England is bound by ſolemn compact to give every encouragement to the Linen manufacture of Ireland, and that for ſo doing ſhe did receive valuable conſideration, in the

of the Britiſh export bounty granted in 1743, the quantity re-exported, increaſed between that year and 1798, from 7,500,000 yards to 41,500,000 yards. The important operation of bounties is evinced in their effect on the Sail-cloth manufacture, of which, in 1750, Ireland exported more than ſhe imported: Britain then commenced a bounty on the export of her own Sail-cloths, and in 1784, Ireland *imported* 180,000 yards, and exported *none*. Foſter's Speech, 1785. See Woodfall.

the ſuppreſſion of the woollen manufacture, in Ireland. Of any ſuch compact, however, no trace or monument exiſts; and the only circumſtance that can be ſaid, in any way to bear ſuch an appearance, has, many years ago, been totally cancelled and done away. In the reign of Charles II. a duty of 8s. 6d. per yard was impoſed in England upon the importation of *all* woollen cloth, from Ireland, and elſewhere: this duty, which in itſelf amounted to a prohibition, has never ſince been leſſened, but, by the common operation of general ſubſidies, it has at different times, been increaſed to £1 17 5 per yard. No concurrence, then, on the part of Ireland, nor conſequently any compact was neceſſary to exclude Iriſh woollens from the Britiſh *home* market. But to prevent the competition of the Iriſh in foreign markets, a law was obtained in the 10th of William III. from the Iriſh Parliament, (who ſeem to have been content, by relinquiſhing that hoſtile competition, to obtain the favour of England for their Linen manufacture, which had even then been carried to a conſiderable height) impoſing an *ad valorem* duty of 4s. in the pound on broad cloths, and 2s. on ſerges, &c. exported from Ireland. This amounted to a prohibition, yet no act was paſſed to check the exportation of Engliſh linens, nor was any compact made for the encouragement of that manufacture in Ireland: the Lords and Commons of England had, indeed, each, in an addreſs to the King, previous to this Iriſh act, intreated his Majeſty "to countenance "as much as poſſible the Linen manufacture, in Ireland, in "caſe the Woollen ſhould be relinquiſhed." At that time, Iriſh linens, though made importable into England, duty free by an act of the 7 & 8 William III. was by a new ſubſidy of five per cent. on *all* goods imported, (8 & 9 Will. III.) made ſubject to that duty: no exemption for them, from this 5 per cent, was obtained, during the life of King William; but in the firſt of Anne, the free importation of Iriſh linen was reſtored, and has been continued ever ſince. The Iriſh woollen-exportation-act expired in 1702, and was not renewed, but a very harſh act, and not temporary, had been paſſed in the *Engliſh* Parliament, (10 & 11 Will. III.) which aſſumed the power of making ſuch a law,—*totally prohibiting* the exportation of Iriſh woollens. This injurious reſtriction, which is the only tranſaction that can be conſtrued into any thing bearing the appearance of *condition*, on the part of Ireland, was at the *expreſs deſire of Ireland*,* removed by the Britiſh act of 20 George III. and the free exportation of Iriſh woollens allowed, to all foreign places. If any *compact*, therefore, exiſted, reſpecting the Linen and Woollen manufactures, this law muſt have completely put an end to it:

Great

* Foſter, 80.

Great Britain has, notwithſtanding, ſtill continued her encouragement to the Linens of Ireland,—her free entry, her bounty on exportation, her foreign duties; ſince that period at leaſt, voluntarily and without any compact, or obligation, other, than what the general principles of good policy may impoſe.

*Ireland well ſituated to be a depôt of foreign trade to Great Britain.*

Ireland is particularly well ſituated, in many caſes, to be a depôt of foreign trade to the Britiſh merchant; but at preſent, ſuch is the confined commercial intercourſe of Ireland, that ſhe cannot make that uſe of her convenient ſituation, becauſe in many inſtances, it would deprive him of the chance of the home market.† Owing to this circumſtance, the redundancy of Britiſh capital has found its way more readily to Hamburgh, Oſtend, and many other parts of the world, than to Ireland; becauſe it can more eaſily be turned there, and returned from thence. But when there ſhall be no diſtinction between the ports of Ireland, and thoſe of Great Britain; the former will feel the full benefit of her ſituation in that reſpect, and will enjoy the influence of the capital and commerce of Great Britain.

† Foſter, Spencer, 88.

*AGAINST*

## *AGAINST* A LEGISLATIVE UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND;

### ARGUMENTS *COMMERCIAL.*

THE Commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland, has been much dwelt upon, as an argument in favour of an Union; as well as the misfortunes, which are repreſented as likely to fall upon the commercial intereſts of Ireland, from the loſs of Britiſh protection and favour. But there is no danger of the loſs of that protection, both, becauſe its continuance on the part of Great Britain is enſured by the never-failing argument of ſelf-intereſt, and becauſe it is claimed by Ireland, not as a boon, but as a right, for the purchaſe of which, ample payment has been made, in the perpetual grant of an Iriſh marine, and in the conſtant ſupply of mariners, which the Britiſh navy draws from that Iſland.

*No danger of Britain's withdrawing her protection.* Foſter. Goold.

The balance of trade is repreſented, as being ſo greatly in favour of Ireland, that, from her intercourſe with Great Britain, ſhe derives the greater part of the profits of her whole trade. And the encouragements afforded by the Britiſh Parliament,* to the Iriſh Linen manufacture, are ſaid to be of ſuch value, that from them the proſperity of that manufacture is derived, and upon them it depends for its ſupport.

*Balance of trade not in favour of Ireland.* Foſter.

It is ſtated that, on an average of three years, to 1799, the whole imports into Britain, from Ireland amounted to - - - - - £5,612,689

thoſe into Ireland from Britain to - 3,555,445

leaving an *apparent* yearly balance in favour of Ireland, of - - - 2,057,244

But an inveſtigation of the nature and amount of the ſeveral articles, and a compariſon of the benefits, accruing to either country, will place the matter in a very different light, and ſhew that the advantage is in favour of Great Britain. The mere balance of value in money of the articles, imported and exported, which is vulgarly called the Balance of Trade, affords a very inadequate and often a very falſe criterion of the real advantage or diſadvantage of a trade between two countries; for inſtance, in the trade between Great Britain and the Eaſt Indies, the value of imports greatly exceeds that of exports; ſo in the Weſt India trade; yet both trades are highly advantageous and increaſe her wealth and her reſources. Further, in her trade with Ruſſia, the balance is always againſt her, yet the trade is greatly beneficial, as the imports are raw materials or articles of prime neceſſity;—and in every country there is further advantage or diſadvantage in proportion as the navigation or carriage of articles is enjoyed by the one or the other. The trade therefore between Ireland and England may be conſidered in three points of view, as it regards manufactures, raw materials including proviſions, and articles of prime neceſſity, and navigation or the carrying trade.

1ſt,

* Douglas, &c. 71, &c.

*Ireland well si-*
*ated to be a depô:*
*of foreign trade*
*to Great Britain.*

a fallacy, which will [illegible]
with regard to the [illegible]
he value of both exports [illegible]
ices in the *British* market; [illegible]
ed at the prime cost, [illegible]
of transportation, of [illegible]
nd, and the British [illegible]
o the profits of Ireland. [illegible]
he balance therefore of £[illegible]
e of his reports, in favour of [illegible]
be deducted. The customs are [illegible]
at £47,500; the freight, &c. amounts, [illegible]
and the insurance to 4 per cent. and, [illegible]
puting the Income tax by Mr. [illegible]
per cent. This 20 per cent. upon the [illegible]
to £927,561, and, together with the [illegible]
educted from the estimated value of [illegible]
will be the sum *actually* received by Ireland [illegible]
ier exported commodities. The real balance [illegible]
and, upon this view of the matter, will appear
081,728. If the Inspector General in [illegible]
his reports in a similar manner with Mr. [illegible]
equal truth, make the balance appear to [illegible]
and; but his statement for the same [illegible]
ous also.

to the Linen manufacture, the B[illegible] *Linen manufacture not depending on British*
very great value to Ireland. But [illegible]
ngage in a war of duties and to [illegible]
the Irish linens from her market, [illegible]
e British consumer, than on the [illegible]
ng able to supply herself at home, England
course to Germany and Russia for the [illegible]
ying a heavy tax to the state, and her
; while Ireland would probably [illegible]
other market for her produce.

that if Irish linens were made [illegible]
oreign linens, on importation into Great
nder this disadvantage, they [illegible]
her market, because it is the [illegible]
em: for, though, at this [illegible]
and, are 35 per cent. higher than [illegible]
itish merchants are anxious to [illegible]
before they go to market.

temporary, but it serves to show,
not depend, for the possession of the
protection of those duties alone, but
their way there.

1ſt. MANUFACTURES.

| | |
|---|---|
| Britiſh manufactures exported to Ireland, including colonial produce, (which may be placed under this head, on account of the manual labour and ſhipping employed in them) | £2,614,000 |
| Iriſh manufactures exported to Great Britain, conſiſting of linen alone | 2,600,000 |
| Balance in favour of Britain | 14,000 |

2d. RAW MATERIALS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Raw material, ſupplied by Ireland to Great Britain, including articles of prime neceſſity, as, beef, pork, butter, bacon, corn, &c. | £2,910,724* |
| Raw material ſupplied by Britain to Ireland, including coals, hops, bark, ſalt, &c. | 447,477 |
| Exceſs of ſupply by Ireland | 2,463,247 |

3d. NAVIGATION OR CARRYING TRADE.

| | |
|---|---|
| Foreign articles taken from Britain, by Ireland | £1,468,170 |
| Ditto taken from Ireland, by Britain | 101,864 |
| Exceſs taken by Ireland | 1,366,306 |

Thus in manufactures the account is nearly equal:† in the raw material and articles of neceſſity, the balance of ſupply is very great in favour of Britain: and, (in the carrying trade of foreign articles,) the exceſs of gain to Britain is prodigious; and in addition to this laſt head it ought to be conſidered, that as of that ſum, the produce of the Eaſt Indies amounts to no more than £407,000, the remainder conſiſting of trade to the value of £1,061,173, is open and free to Ireland, for direct importation, if ſhe were inclined to import in that manner, and to deprive Great Britain of the benefits, that ſhe derives from that branch of Commerce.

To the balance ought alſo to be added the value of the monopoly, which, in her direct importation of colonial produce, Ireland gives to that of the Britiſh colonies, amounting to £140,000; as well as the great importance that the Iriſh market is of to England for her Eaſt and Weſt-India articles, becauſe thoſe goods are to England, the means of remitting home the wealth of the diſtant ſettlements.

Ld. Farnham. But without conſidering ſeparately the different articles of import and export, it will appear, that in Mr. Irvine's report

* This reaſoning and calculation is confirmed by Lord Auckland who in his Speech of 5th May, 1800, as reported in the Sun, ſ: would preſs on the committee the circumſtance of the increaſed advantages which Britain for years paſt had derived from the importation of raw and unimproved produce from Ireland, of the average value of about *three millions*."

† Douglas, 71.

there is a fallacy, which will lead to a very erroneous concluſion with regard to the actual balance of trade. He ſtates the value of both exports and imports according to their prices in the *Britiſh market*; the former therefore are truly ſtated at the prime coſt, but to the latter is added the expence of tranſportation, of inſurance, and of cuſtoms paid in England, and the Britiſh merchants profit, which are no addition to the profits of Ireland, nor no loſs to England.

From the balance therefore of £2,056,844, which appears on the face of his reports, in favour of Ireland, theſe charges ought to be deducted. The cuſtoms are ſtated by Lord Auckland at £47,500; the freight, &c. amounts, at leaſt, to 1 per cent. and the inſurance to 4 per cent. and, as eſtimated, in computing the Income tax by Mr. Pitt, the merchants profit to 15 per cent. This 20 per cent. upon the prime coſt will amount to £927,561, and, together with the Cuſtoms, ought to be deducted from the eſtimated value of Iriſh exports: the remainder will be the ſum *actually* received by Ireland, as the price of her exported commodities. The real balance in favour of Ireland, upon this view of the matter, will appear to be only £1,081,728. If the Inſpector General in Dublin, were to make his reports in a ſimilar manner with Mr. Irvine, he would with equal truth, make the balance appear to be in favour of England; but his ſtatement for the ſame reaſons would be erroneous alſo.

*Linen manufacture not dependent on Britain.*

With regard to the Linen manufacture, the Britiſh market is undoubtedly of very great value to Ireland. But if Great Britain were to engage in a war of duties and to impoſe ſuch as would exclude the Iriſh linens from her market, it would fall heavier on the Britiſh conſumer, than on the manufacturer: for not being able to ſupply herſelf at home, England muſt then have recourſe to Germany and Ruſſia for the neceſſary ſupply, paying a heavy tax to the ſtate, and her money to a ſtranger; while Ireland would probably be able very ſoon to find another market for her produce.

And it is evident that if Iriſh linens were made ſubject to *equal* duties with foreign linens, on importation into Great Britain, ſtill, even under this diſadvantage, they would obtain admiſſion into her market, becauſe it is the intereſt of Britain to purchaſe them: for, though, at this moment the prices of linen in Ireland, are 35 per cent. higher than their uſual rate, yet the Britiſh merchants are anxious to ſecure them even the greens, before they go to market.

This riſe, indeed, is temporary, but it ſerves to ſhew, that the Iriſh linens do not depend, for the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh market, on the protection of thoſe duties alone, but, on them, can find their way there.

Lord

Lord Grenville, in 1785, stated it as the opinion that a prohibition of Irish linens from the British market, would operate more to the detriment of England, than of Ireland, by the injury it would occasion, in the article of bleaching and the carrying trade, and by the intercourse which it would promote, between Ireland and foreign states.

Anon. Not would the loss of the British market for her linens be any such mighty evil to Ireland, as it is apprehended. Any restriction that had been imposed on the Linen manufacture, in its infancy, when it was the sole resource of the country, and no other manufacture was allowed, might have been extremely injurious; but, supposing that it were now in the power of Britain, by any regulations or restrictions, to prevent its further growth, the bad consequences would not be the same; for it is idle to suppose that money and industry would not re-produce as well to the risk, in some other article of manufacture, or trade, as in the Linen business, or that the loss of *one* market for one branch of manufacture, could materially depress a country which is increasing in skill, industry, and capital, when the whole world is her mark, and every branch of trade is open to her endeavours.

But Ireland does not, in the article of linen, possess exclusively the British market: the linens of Germany, Russia, Prussia, Scotland, and Ireland all gain admission there, and find ample room, without any grounds for jealousy. The *coarse* linens of foreign manufacture are esteemed superior, but the peculiar qualities of the Irish linens must ever secure them a market, and the unrivalled excellence of the fine linens of Ireland, ensures them a demand, as long as luxury and delicacy shall exist: the coarser sorts are equally sought, and certain of constant sale, on account of their superior fitness for the stamping business, which arises from their strong texture; and of their thinness, which adapts them for women's use and for hot climates. For these reasons they are preferred by America to the fabric of any other part of the world and the same qualities secure to them the British market.

Foster, The danger is merely imaginary, to which the prosperity of the Linen manufacture is said to be exposed, from the power possessed by the British Parliament of recalling those measures, which have served as an encouragement. These are two: the British duties on foreign linens, and the British bounties on the export of Irish linens. But was not for the sake of Ireland, that those duties were imposed, as appears, by the report of the board of trade in 1698, that the design of them was to protect the *British* linen manufacture, and the *British* trader in Irish linens; and therefore their permanency

permanency depends not on the good will that Britain bears to Ireland, but on the intereſt of Britain.

Beſides, Britain is bound alſo by ſolemn compact to protect and encourage in every inſtance the Iriſh linen manufacture,* and for ſo covenanting, ſhe received valuable conſideration from Ireland, in the ſuppreſſion of the woollen trade of Ireland, at a time when the exports in that branch amounted to £110,000 (1-5th of her whole exports.)

Neither was the export bounty granted for the ſake of Ireland, but in compliance with the petition of the London trader and the Scottiſh manufacturer, who aſked for that in preference to the plan then ſuggeſted, of refuſing the drawback on foreign linen,—in which no benefit to Ireland could have been intended: and till the year 1780, thoſe bounties were confined to perſons reſiding in Great Britain, becauſe they were intended for the benefits of the Britiſh merchant, and for the prevention of direct export from Ireland: And, as they are reſtricted to Iriſh linens of eighteen-pence per yard, and are forfeited on ſtamped linens, they are fully countervailed by the drawback of the duties, allowed on the re-exportation of German and Ruſſian linens, and are thus almoſt reduced to nothing. The effect alſo which they have produced, has been much greater in favour of the Britiſh than the Iriſh manufacture, operating on the former as 12 per cent. but on the latter only as 6½ per cent.;—for the remaining 5½ per cent. ſerves only to compenſate the charges of freight, commiſſion, &c. Theſe bounties commenced in 1743, and by the unequal encouragement thus afforded, the export of Britiſh linens was ſo raiſed as to equal that of the Iriſh in 1763; and ſince that period they have ſo much exceeded the Iriſh, that in 1797, the bounties paid on Britiſh linens (excluſive of £56,935, paid on *printed* linens and cottons, all Britiſh alſo) amounted to £82,935, and thoſe on Iriſh, but to £24,459; and that was only on 3,000,000 yards. Anon. Foſter.

All thoſe threats, therefore, of diſpleaſure and reſentment on the part of Great Britain, which are held out, in order to urge Ireland into acquieſcence in an Union, are idle and inſignificant; and it is neither a neceſſary nor a probable conſequence of the rejection of the propoſal, that a ſyſtem of oppreſſive and reſentful regulations ſhould commence; and if ſuch a meaſure were adopted, its conſequences would not be ſuch as are apprehended. Anon.

It is a miſtatement to value the amount of Iriſh manufactures conſumed in the Britiſh market, at ſo great a ſum as *four or five millions*, for it conſiſts of linens alone, Foſter.



* Douglas, 76.

which do not exceed 2,600,000l. and for this article, if excluded from Britain, other markets may be found. All the raw materials with which Ireland is now ſupplied from the ſiſter iſland, ſuch as coals, ſalt, hops, bark,—may with a little care and diligence be procured at home, or perhaps obtained elſewhere: but, thoſe which Ireland furniſhes to Great Britain, are of equal importance to that country and of much greater amount; and if ſhe turns away the ſource whence ſhe now ſupplies herſelf, it will be *much more difficult for her* to ſubſtitute any other method of procuring a ſupply. Ireland, beſides, is no contemptible cuſtomer to her neighbour; for the Britiſh manufactures exported to that iſland are equal to one-third of thoſe exported to all the reſt of Europe, including Jerſey, Guernſey, Greenland, and the Iſle of Man.

& Bousfield.

Foſter.

*An Union will not invite Britiſh ſettlers.*

But an Union, they ſay, will invite Britiſh ſettlers and Britiſh capital to Ireland, and will induce ſpeculation in ſo fair a field for adventure in the manufacturing line. The principal inducement, relied upon in this ſuppoſition, is the comparative cheapneſs of labour and proviſions: but, as it was very juſtly argued by Mr. Pitt, in 1785, the price of labour conſiſts not merely in the wages paid, for the coarſe works of huſbandry; the comparative ſkill, induſtry, and ingenuity of the labourer muſt be conſidered, together with the quantity of work produced; and taken in this point of view, labour will appear to bear a *higher* price in Ireland, than it does in Britain. Mr. Pitt quoted the authority of the firſt cotton manufacturer in Ireland, Major Brooke, who, he ſaid, was ſeveral times in danger of loſing his life, becauſe he would not allow his workmen *higher wages* than were given at Mancheſter. The other inducement, the cheapneſs of proviſions, would vaniſh, as ſoon as manufactures were eſtabliſhed; for it ariſes now merely from the circumſtance, that the raiſing of proviſions is the ſole occupation of the people.

Tit for Tat. Anon.

*Engliſh manufactures will not ſucceed in Ireland.* Foſter.

But a more detailed view of the ſubject will make it appear, that not one of the chief manufactures of England, can ſucceed in Ireland. The principal and the moſt profitable are the woollen, the cotton, the iron and the pottery. Of theſe the two laſt depend ſo entirely on the plenty and cheapneſs of fuel, that they have never been known to form a ſettlement, in England, at any diſtance from a plentiful colliery; and fire forms ſo great a portion of their expences, that that part of the country, which affords it beſt and cheapeſt, muſt always have a decided preference.

*Iron.*

In the iron manufacture, the encouragements to eſtabliſh it in Ireland are ſuperior to thoſe offered by Great Britain, for

for the former imports under a duty of 12s. 6d. per ton, while the British duty is 3l. nearly;* this difference operates as a bounty of above 40s. per ton in favour of the Irish manufacturer; and yet, this great advantage has brought no capital into Ireland. It is not likely then, that such an effect will be produced by the removal of that, in the proposed equalization of duties.

*Pottery.*

In the pottery, flint and clay, though so abundant in England, have not been found in any quantity in Ireland:† and there is not a single pottery established in the kingdom.

The same facility of fuel must give England an unequivocal advantage in all manufactures, which make use of the steam engine.

*Woollen.*

Fuel is a matter of great consideration in the woollen manufacture; so that, though that manufacture has been for centuries established in Yorkshire, it has never yet extended itself above ten miles from that circle of country, where coals abound.‡ There are other considerations too not to be overlooked, by him who forms speculations for extending himself in this business. England finds a full call for all she makes, and every year affords an increasing demand: And if a man speculate to vest more capital in his business, he will surely prefer his own spot, for extending himself, where his returns are known and his market certain, to a new and distant country, whose works he can already so much undersell, as to oblige its people to come and offer him their market, at his own door: he will conclude that, where he is, he can manufacture at a cheaper rate, than he could in Ireland, by the amount of the whole expence of carriage, freight, &c. and of the Irish duties charged on importation.

An Union offers not one inducement to counterbalance these disadvantages: it will afford no additional supply of fuel; it will not provide a better market, or a greater freedom of export, than Ireland has enjoyed for these twenty years; it cannot procure for manufacturers a larger supply of wool than is now to be had, and already Ireland exports no unwrought wool, but works up all that she produces: even that quantity is likely to lessen, as the increase of agriculture and the linen manufacture give a better profit in land than sheep afford. An Union will obtain no additional protecting duties, for it is to be stipulated by the 6th Proposition, that these are never to be raised, but in time to cease.

*Cotton.*

In the cotton manufacture, the probability is as little favourable to Ireland. For many years the machinery made use of, in the cotton business was subject in England, to the heavy charge of 2s. 6d. annually, on every spindle for Arkwright's

* Lord Auckland, Douglas, 69.
† Douglas, 70. ‡ Lord Auckland, 69.

Arkwright's patent: this operated as a bounty in favour of Ireland which was free from such a charge; yet it never induced any adventurer to carry his capital into Ireland.

The patent is now expired, and that charge has ceased; and there is little likelihood of that happening without its assistance, which so great an encouragement never could effect. Even on the coast nearest to Britain and immediately opposite the collieries, cotton twist cannot be made within 20 per cent. as cheap as England can supply it.

In 1785, when the Commercial Propositions were under discussion, the cotton manufacturers of England were much alarmed, lest their regulation should have the effect of removing the trade to Ireland. In order to quiet their fears, Mr. Pitt then stated it as his opinion,* "that there was no danger of so poor a country as Ireland, ever being able to draw from England either her workmen, her trade or her capital. It appears, then, that there is no prospect of an establishment being effected in Ireland, by British capital, of those manufactures in which Great Britain chiefly excels.

*Linen manufacture will not invite British capital.*

In the linen manufacture, Ireland can undersell England, and possesses advantages by nature, which England has not; but that British capital should establish itself in Ireland, in that branch, is equally improbable: if, in the course of ninety years, during which the linen manufacture has been free and open, cherished and supported by laws and beneficial large grants from the Irish Parliament,† scarcely any British capital has been vested in it; there is little prospect of that taking place, when its protecting guardian is no more, and no additional encouragement is held out to replace it; and when the great progress of that manufacture in Britain shall have taught men, that equal profits may be derived from it in that country, and shall induce them to pursue it at home.

Thus it appears, that there is no room to expect from an Union any new motive, that can induce Britain to employ her capital in Ireland, in any manufactures for home consumption. Indeed if such an employment of English capital were to be the consequence of an Union; its mischievous effects would serve only, to divert to purposes of frippery, fashion, and luxury, those exertions which are now employed in the substantial pursuits of agriculture.

Weld.

Foster,

If it be not worth the while of British capital to speculate for the home market, speculation for the supply of the foreign becomes consequently absurd; for if Britain can undersell Ireland at home, she will, upon the same grounds, be able to do so abroad also, and that in a larger proportion, on account of her established credit.'

If

* Lord Auckland, 69. † Douglas, 70.

But if British capital should come to Ireland, to deal in foreign articles of import, its object must either be to provide those articles for home use, or to import them with a view to re-exportation. If for home use, such a dealer, instead of being beneficial becomes an injury to the country, by increasing the quantity of imports, to the prejudice of the home manufacture. If for re-exportation, little benefit can be derived to Ireland from such a traffic: * and it has been the declared opinion of an able statesman, that Ireland never can become the depôt, or emporium of foreign goods, for the supply either of the British, or the foreign market. But even supposing it a beneficial branch of commerce, no new inducement to pursue it, would be furnished by an Union, for Ireland is & Spencer.
at this moment as free to trade with all the world, as Great Britain is herself. †

In point of commerce then Ireland has nothing to hope Foster,
from an Union: nor is the influx of British capital, however & Spencer,
useful it might be, by any means indispensable to the prosperity of Ireland. Irish industry has already created a capital, Spencer.
which the daily growth of that industry will continue daily
to augment in an increased ratio—a capital infinitely more
useful, than any that can be produced by the forced influx Goold.
of wealth; because it is the *gradual* produce of industry, and improving experience, which can alone be secure or permanent.

But the British cabinet well knows, that there is no probability of British capital being transported to Ireland: and, Goold.
were it not certain of this point, it would not be rash enough to propose a measure that might endanger the wealth, power, and ascendency of Britain. That country has not natural resources to support the rank which it now holds among nations, but depends upon the returns of an extensive commerce: if then capital be removed elsewhere, and decrease at home, consequently so will commerce, and Great Britain must descend from the exalted station, which she has attained.

The great improvement in the condition of Scotland, *Analogy of the improvement of Scotland, false.*
which has taken place since the period when that country was united to England, has been held out as a lure to Ireland, to follow the example. But the reasoning is false, because it falsely attributes to the effects of the Union, the increase of wealth population and trade, that has taken place in Scotland; as if nothing was due to the progressive improvement of the world, during almost a century. But taking also her prosperity as the consequences of her Union, ‖ still her progress has been inferior to that of *ununited* Ireland, the

* See Doctor Adam Smith's Enquiry into the Causes, &c.
† Douglas, 76. ‖ Ibid. 16.

Anon. and of all ſurrounding nations in the ſame period. The improvement would probably have been conſiderably greater, but for the conſtant drain of her wealth to England, by her quota of ſupply, and by her abſentees.

Foſter. The Linen manufacture of Scotland, which is ſtated by Mr. Dundas, as the teſt of his country's proſperity, has increaſed between 1706 and 1796, in the proportion of 23 to 1, while that of Ireland made a progreſs, in the ſame time, of 88 to 1.* During that term, the population of Scotland has been enlarged from one million to one and a half; that of Ireland from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$.

The exports of Ireland have been multiplied more than tenfold; thoſe of united Britain, not fourfold.†

Anon. Beſides Scotland and England, at the time of the Union, were upon an equal footing; they were both poor, and have grown up together to opulence, and proſperity: but, while Ireland is ſtill young and poor, Great Britain is arrived at full maturity.

Goold. But ſince the period of the Union the population of Scotland has advanced but little, the manufactures have ſcarcely improved, commerce and agriculture have been ſtationary, and civil liberty merely a name; for in all Scotland there are but 2000 voters, and many of theſe are nominal ſuperiorities, without any property whatever: and the want of a reſident Legiſlature has been the cauſe of Scotland's remaining in ſuch a condition, in all theſe reſpects.

*Britiſh Parliament ignorant of local intereſts.* Anon. In every country, but more eſpecially in one which is poor and only beginning to riſe, there are different intereſts, according to the relative ſituation of different parts.‡ Theſe, it muſt be confeſſed, are frequently overlooked and miſunderſtood, even by a reſident legiſlature; the great defect of which ariſes from its not admitting ſufficiently the influence of the mercantile claſs of ſociety. And there is little probability that ſuch peculiar and various intereſts will be better underſtood, or better attended to by an alien Parliament, ſitting in another kingdom, and compoſed of men never reſident in the country, and unacquainted with all its local circumſtances.

*Union would leſſen capital.* Anon. It is a maxim in political œconomy, that the proportion between capital and revenue, ever regulates that between induſtry and idleneſs; that where capital predominates, induſtry prevails, and that idleneſs is apparent, where revenue bears the larger proportion. But by the increaſe of Abſentees,

* Douglas, 16.

† Exports of Ireland.

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1706, | 548,318 |
| In 1796, | 5,064,834 |

Exports of Great Britain.

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1706, | 6,512,086 |
| In 1796, | 27,621,843 |

‡ Douglas, 46.

tees, and by additional taxation, an Union would cauſe a double diminution of capital in Ireland. Its direct tendency therefore would be to promote idleneſs, thus affording another, *accelerating* cauſe for the decreaſe of capital.

*Would ruin manufactures.* Anon.

By giving to Britain the power of reſtricting, regulating, and controling the trade with Ireland, an Union will enable her to take ſuch meaſures, as always to underſel Ireland, even in the Iriſh market, and conſequently to annihilate the riſing manufactures of that country; the rents and prices of land would fall of *courſe*, becauſe its produce would loſe the market now ſupplied by the conſumption of thoſe numerous manufacturers, who would then be either reduced to beggary, or obliged to leave the kingdom in ſearch of employment: and Ireland would be under the neceſſity of again having recourſe to the corn and proviſion trade, from which ſhe is juſt beginning to eſcape.

Agriculture has no excluſive claim to preference, over every other means of employing induſtry: it deſerves favour, only in that proportion, in which it may be found productive. The improvement of agriculture, and the cultivation of waſte lands are beſt promoted by the extenſion of manufactures, which create a more certain and more profitable conſumption for the produce of land, than can be any otherwiſe procured.

By an Union, Ireland would be compelled to direct a great part of her induſtry to agriculture: but many impediments exiſt, to prevent Ireland from receiving the full benefits of her agricultural induſtry, and not one of theſe would be removed by an Union. It would not aboliſh the ſyſtem of primogeniture, which, in ſome caſes prevents the poſſibility of letting lands on ſuch leaſes, as are neceſſary to animate induſtry: nor that of tithes, which diſguſts men, with agricultural exertion: it would neither induce the return of abſent landlords, nor convince them of the pernicious conſequences, that reſult from the uſual mode of letting their eſtates, to middlemen. Beſide this, after the reſtoration of peace in Europe, the agricultural produce of Ireland, will have no market left for its diſpoſal, becauſe the great political improvements, which are rapidly extending their influence to all nations, will enable them to take advantage of their natural reſources, and ſupply their own conſumption. Britain will be her only market, but even Great Britain will be rendered, by her improved cultivation of the country, adequate to her own ſupply.

*Free intercourſe with Britain, not beneficial.* Anon. & Bousfield.

A free and unreſtricted intercourſe of traffic with Great Britain would not tend to the advantage of Ireland, by augmenting the exportation either of thoſe articles, which ſhe is in the habit of ſending to the Britiſh market or of others.

others. All the principal articles of export from Ireland to Great Britain,—proviſions, corn, hides, cordage, cables, ſail-cloth, wool, yarn and linens, are *now* either free, or ſubject to very trifling duties: and in thoſe articles of Iriſh produce, which by the heavy duties on importation, are now excluded from the Britiſh market, Ireland would be unable to underſell England, even though theſe duties were to be removed; ſo that in them alſo competition would be equally beyond her reach. Such was the opinion of the principal manufacturers of England, as declared before the Lords of Trade, with regard to woollens, printed cottons, ſilks, iron, pottery and the produce of the brewery. And the great improvements in agriculture, that have recently taken place in England, make it abſurd to expect that Ireland ſhall be able, in that branch, to enter into competition with her, in the Britiſh market.

The apprehenſion of a war of duties is very futile, for England is as much benefited by the import, as Ireland by the export of thoſe articles, with which Britain is from thence ſupplied: And, while Britain would ſuffer material injury from the loſs of the raw material, which ſhe procures from Ireland, it would be a conſiderable advantage to Ireland to have that exportation prevented.

But Ireland is threatened with the loſs of Britiſh protection. To this it may be anſwered, that the beſt protection of a country, conſiſts in forwarding her intereſts, not in reducing her to ſervitude; that Britain owes more to Ireland, than ſhe can claim as due to her, by that country, which has ever been her beſt and moſt conſtant friend; that the intereſts of Britain will always oblige her to exert herſelf for the protection of Ireland; and that Ireland has a *right* to a protection, for which ſhe has largely paid.

*Britiſh partnerſhip not deſirable.* Taaffe.

But, an Union, we are told will procure for Ireland, admiſſion to all the benefits of Britiſh commerce; as a younger ſiſter, ſetting out in the world, ſhe is to be taken into partnerſhip in a great, wealthy, and extenſive houſe. If however that great houſe be overloaded with immenſe debts, and ſtand on the verge of bankruptcy, and the younger partner be admitted merely to a ſtate of ſubjection and dependence on her aſſociate,—to ſhare the riſk, and not the profits of the firm; then this ſplendid partnerſhip can have no other effect, than to prevent the younger partner from riſing in the world by her own means, and to chain her to an over-grown, ſinking firm; to which ſhe has been obliged to reſign her whole capital, without a poſſibility of ever being able to withdraw it, however uneaſy the new ſituation may be found. Rudd.

THE END.

SOME

# DOCUMENTS

RELATIVE TO THE LATE

## *PARLIAMENTARY CONDUCT*

OF

## DOCTOR BROWNE,

REPRESENTATIVE IN PARLIAMENT

FOR THE

*UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.*

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1800.

# PREFACE.

THE man who from his infancy for thirty years has borne an unblemiſhed character, and been accuſtomed to much popularity, will naturally feel ſome uneaſineſs, and occaſion ſome to his friends, when the tide turns, and the veering breath of popular applauſe deſerts his courſe; ſuch feelings have prompted a friend of Dr. Browne to print the following documents, not for general publication, but to diſtribute among a few friends. They prompted the ſame perſon to publiſh in a newſpaper his anſwer to his conſtituents the moment it was given: The decided meaſure ſtartled the adverſary, who then cunningly pretended to condemn it, and to ſay that the addreſs had never been intended for publication; (an aſſertion totally incredible, and inconſiſtent with its plain object of depreciating character,) and to lament that they were not allowed to whiſper away that character in private companies, where the anſwer and defence would never have been heard of. To prevent ſuch attempts is the object of the preſent collection.

One

One word as to a charge of ingratitude in ſome of his conſtituents: ſtrictly ſpeaking it may be ſaid, conſtituents cannot be ungrateful, as a man by doing his duty doth not oblige them; yet if a man to pleaſe them has relinquiſhed and paſſed over voluntarily many opportunities of advancing himſelf conſiderably and with honour in the world; and they afterwards without any cauſe or pretence of blame ſeek to diſcard and to diſgrace him, and, when they think he is no longer uſeful to their purpoſes, endeavour to ſubſtitute others whom they apprehend more likely to advance the intereſts of individuals, the term may not be altogether inapplicable.* And if in compliance with his own real opinions, unconnected with complaiſance to his conſtituents, he rejects great and tempting opportunities, (which more than one man alive knows Dr. Browne did in the time of the regency,) it ſhould ſeem to be ſome ground for ſuppoſing that a man ſtill acted according to his real opinions, and for expecting that he ſhould be treated with reſpect, or at leaſt with decency.

His

* Notwithſtanding all the ſervices done by former members to the Univerſity, they were deſerted; one remarkable inſtance of an illuſtrious perſon offers itſelf; and as ſoon as Dr. Browne ceaſed to be thought neceſſary as an opponent to the Hutchinſon family, inceſſant endeavours were made to ſupplant him.

His opinions on the ſubject of Union may be collected from the following documents, and they are briefly theſe; he did always from the year 1782 think that this Kingdom, nominally independent but really governed by Britiſh influence in its own parliament on imperial queſtions, and by colonial prejudice and monopoly in its own private concerns, ſtood in the moſt awkward ſituation; tending to ſeparation if it really aſſerted and exerted independence, with the mere ſhadow of a parliament if it did not; he nevertheleſs thought that by wiſe and moderate councils, and conciliatory meaſures, and a temperate and rational reform in parliament, we might go on without an Union, to which he was in general and the abſtract always inclined, not as deſirable if it could be avoided, but as probably neceſſary. When he found by the madneſs of democracy and the fury of rebellion all his hopes fruſtrated, and that all attempts at reform tended only to civil war, and in fact by the folly of ſome and wickedneſs of others terminated in it, he became decidedly of opinion that an Union was neceſſary. He was always a friend to the church and to eſtabliſhments; he was a friend to a junction with England, he was an orangeman if

if that term means a friend to the memory of King William, to the revolution and to rational liberty; but he was not an orangeman if that term means a perſecuting bigot, and the conduct of ſuch orangemen as much decided him in favour of the Union as the conduct of the rebels and perhaps were as much the cauſe of the Union; with theſe ſentiments, when a noble Lord in 1798 ſent circular letters to all members of Parliament to know their ſentiments on the ſubject of Union, he told him and every other man that aſked him, that he was decidedly in favour of the meaſure, but was afraid of his conſtituents; he had the weakneſs to ſuffer that fear to carry his vote againſt his real ſentiments in the ſubſequent ſeſſion (and thence and thence only the apparent contradiction in his conduct, if there be ſuch), and he had the folly to hope that experience of the ſituation to which fooliſh councils had brought us would repair the fault and teach men that if we were not to have Union with England we muſt have internal conciliation; he had the weakneſs to ſuppoſe that ſtill it was poſſible to conſider this land as a great and cemented kingdom, and not as a petty and infuriated colony; but when he found his miſtake, when he

he found himſelf acting with a few old friends who he knew would be deſerted the moment this buſineſs was over, but for the moſt part with men who only were for rejecting the Union to return to the ſame violent councils which had precipitated it, he determined to recur to the principle he had always thought right, and which indeed it was now evident muſt take place when that of conciliation was rejected, and decidedly to ſupport an Union between England and Ireland, provided the terms were good and deſirable.

# DOCUMENTS

RELATIVE TO THE LATE

## *PARLIAMENTARY CONDUCT*

OF

## DOCTOR BROWNE,

RESPECTING THE UNION.

*Extracts from a Speech of Doctor Browne in the Houſe of Commons on Friday 15th of February 1799, as taken from the Dublin Evening Poſt of February the 19th, 1799.*

" THOUGH I at preſent vote againſt the Union, I wiſh to treat the arguments for it with all poſſible reſpect. I agree with the noble Lord *(Caſtlereagh)* in thinking that no motion can go to all futurity, though I do not therefore think the preſent motion (Lord *Corry*'s) unneceſſary."

" I am one of thoſe, who, ſhocked with the diſtractions of the nation, have been inclined to liſten to any rational reſource, and was at firſt diſpoſed to receive the propoſitions for an Union at leaſt into conſideration, if it be ſhewn that parliament is competent ſo to do."

*And the concluſion of his ſpeech was in theſe words:*

" I commend the motion of the noble Lord as cautiouſly worded as to futurity; I ſhould have objected to it, if it went to bind me for ever; at all events I cannot foreſee any poſſible circumſtance which can incline me to an Union, except it were neceſſary to prevent the country from becoming a French province; but not being able to foreſee all poſſible circumſtances, I did, even at my election into parliament, boldly refuſe to make any ſuch unneceſſary declaration."*

*At this period nobody pretended to doubt or attempted to contradict this aſſertion either in or out of the houſe; the denial of it was an after-thought.

*Extracts from Doctor Browne's answer to a part of his Constituents who addressed him against the Union, in January 1799; in compliance with which address he then voted against it.**

" I love both kingdoms, (Ireland and England) and have even frequently found in my acquaintance with the latter, a liberality, justice and affection towards this country which it sometimes doth not experience at home."

" Almost any situation would appear to me preferable to a renewal of the horrors and atrocities, and the almost general oblivion of the constitution experienced in the last year."

* These extracts are inserted to shew the tendency of his mind at the time, though he voted against the Union.

" I cannot, at the ſame time that I vote againſt the Union, forbear to expreſs my apprehenſions, that if ſome improvement does not take place in the ſtate or conduct of the parliament of Ireland, ſuch a fatal apathy to its exiſtence will take place† as will at length occaſion the evil you dread.‡"

† It was the caſe.

‡ He never denied the *neceſſity* of an Union to be an evil.

*The following is the Subſtance of Doctor Browne's Speech in the Houſe of Commons on Wedneſday the 15th of January 1800.*

Doctor *Browne*, (College.) Real change of opinion after twelve months reflexion, reſpect for the ſentiments of no inconſiderable part of the nation, attention to his Majeſty's repeated declarations that he thought an Union eſſential to the intereſts of the empire, might be adequate cauſes of men's *now* voting, at leaſt to *hear* the propoſitions; indignation at the meaſures which were purſued after the rejection of the Union laſt year, not by the Chief Governor, (whoſe conduct and character I have always admired and revered, and whoſe coming into this country I conſider a bleſſing to it) but by parliament, was the *eſpecial* cauſe which made me declare both in and out of the houſe, and write to ſeveral of my political friends laſt ſummer, that if ever propoſitions of Union were brought on again, I would vote to hear what they were, as I thought our ſituation could ſcarcely be worſe, and any report that hope,

promiſe or inducement of any kind was held out to me to influence my vote, is inconſiſtent with my parliamentary conduct for ſeventeen years, and abſolutely falſe and groundleſs. My vote this night leaves me as much at liberty to reject the propoſitions in toto, *i. e.* to vote againſt an Union, as ever I was in my life.

I always as I conceive have left myſelf unconfined as to conſidering this important ſubject, as I think every rational man ſhould do: I am ſure I have always intended to do ſo, and accordingly at the laſt general election*, being the firſt interrogated upon the ſubject, I refuſed to bind myſelf, ſaying that I could not foreſee all poſſible caſes, but I did not conceive any probable, in which I could be brought to aſſent to ſuch a meaſure. My preſent colleague, being next aſked, put the caſe of preference to an Union with France. I am poſitive that he firſt mentioned this as one inſtance, but I do not recollect in the leaſt, nor do I believe that he or any of the candidates confined himſelf to that ſingle poſſible caſe, and I am ſure it is not conformable to the conſtant modes of thinking and reſolutions which I have had upon the ſubject, nor did I ever hear it aſſerted that I had limited myſelf in any ſuch manner till about two hours before the Houſe met, nor ever dream of any perſon aſſerting or thinking ſo; if any words were written down, why were not the candidates furniſhed with a copy? and if it was ſo, how happened it, that no perſon ever reminded me

* See the Documents hereafter annexed.

me of it; and in purſuance of the ſame principle, I did poſitively in parliament, on the third day of the laſt ſeſſion, when an attempt was made to exclude the queſtion for ever, refuſe to aſſent; and if my conſtituents thought I had bound myſelf, what occaſion to addreſs me on the ſubject, or why not remind me of this in the addreſs?

Inconſiſtency of conduct is objected to me on three grounds: 1ſt, as to what paſſed at the election, to which I have anſwered: 2d, as to my vote laſt year, to which I anſwer, that my ſpeech at the time ſhews it was founded upon reaſons and arguments adapted only to that time and occaſion, except as to the competency of parliament, on which I had ſerious doubts, which however I conceive muſt have been unfounded, as not a ſingle man ſupported me in them: 3d, as to the amendment laſt year propoſed by the opponents of the Union, going to bar it *in perpetuum* as much as that of this year, I do not conceive that it did. It is avowed to have that meaning at preſent. It was not ſo underſtood laſt year by me or by the parliament, for they diſtinguiſhed it from the reſolution propoſed on the third night of the Seſſion, to which, as being final, they refuſed to aſſent, and ſo did I in expreſs words.

To an Union in the abſtract I am no friend; if I ever agreed to it, it would only be as to a leſſer evil. I have ever wiſhed to preſerve the conſtitution of 1782, but I have ever thought that an Union

with England was preferable to ſome ſituations in which we have been. Not any Union, but Union upon great and comprehenſive terms, made acceptable to all and every part of the nation. After the ſcenes which I beheld in this country during the rebellion and for ſome time after, I expreſsly declared to ſome very reſpectable and dignified friends who well remember it, that I thought ſuch an Union, under the then exiſting circumſtances, deſirable, and I never did at any time ſhew that heat and fury upon the ſubject which other men have done. The diſpoſition of the college in general is againſt it, but ſo far from being univerſal, that nearly half of the governing part of the ſociety favour it; and ſome leading members of it have ſaid they would never vote for the man who oppoſed the Union.

It doth not ſeem to me a good method of promoting the Union, to perſecute every man with calumny and abuſe, who ſays that he thinks we ought to hear what England propoſes, even though he reſts that opinion merely on his notion of its propriety; if oppoſition to the Union proceeds from love of the nation I reſpect it; if from regard to individual power or perſonal aggrandizement, I concern not myſelf about it.

One word to an inſinuation, not very liberal, that I have lived on the bounty of a country to which I am ungrateful. Both parts of the aſſertion I deny. The fellow of a college who obtains his ſituation by hard

hard labour and induſtry, purchaſes it, and no more lives on bounty than the lawyer or the rector. I am not ſo humble as to think that I could not obtain a competency in any country, nor did I come into this without one. Seventeen years diſintereſted ſervice have not been ingratitude, though in ſome quarters they have met with it.

I ſhould be more affected by this kind of attack, if it did not proceed from a gentleman notoriouſly a candidate for the College, who communicates with thoſe of my conſtituents whoſe great induſtry is to ſupplant me.

Had I ſeen, after the rejection of the Union laſt year, any meaſures brought forward to conciliate the people, or to heal the diſtractions of the country; had I ſeen any reviviſcence of that ſpirit which produced the conſtitution of 1782, coming forward to preſerve it, I ſhould not have liſtened to propoſals of Union, nor would you have again heard its name. But for gentlemen to ſuppoſe that if parliament doth not ſupport itſelf, that it can be ſupported; to ſuppoſe that without domeſtic virtue, the nation will trouble itſelf about its exiſtence, is abſurd; the truth is, apathy is gone through the nation upon the ſubject; the thing is evident; in 1782, the idea of Union could not have been brought forward; in 1785, it could not have been brought forward; why can it now? becauſe then the parliament had the warm affections of the nation, and now it has not.

This

This language from me at leaſt is not inconſiſtent; I have never ſaid with one ſide of the houſe, at one time that the parliament was the moſt virtuous, at another time the moſt vicious aſſembly upon earth; nor with the other, after abuſing it during my parliamentary life, hold it up as a paragon of virtue; I have never been ready at one time to hang my friend, or pull down his picture, at another to hold him up as a being from heaven; my mind is more equable, and I have ever ſaid, that if there was not renovation in the parliament, it muſt periſh.

The method of preventing Union was not by rebellion, nor by Orange ſyſtems; not by looking for republics, nor by holding up every man as a rebel, who diſapproved of particular meaſures; it would have been by regular obedience to the laws, and conſtitutional parliamentary oppoſition to any improper meaſures.

The meaſures of laſt ſeſſion, to which I have alluded particularly, are the Rebellion bill and the Fitzgerald bill; the firſt, which I know was rather forced upon the government than ſought for by it, and which therefore is not imputable to the executive power, enables any petty officer to take up any perſon on the vague charge of aſſiſting the rebellion on his mere ſuſpicion, founded on any fooliſh word or indiſcreet trifling action, try him and execute him, without the poſſibility of appeal to any other tribunal. This law ſtill exiſts—why do we not feel it?

why

why do we not know it? why are we ignorant that we live under ſuch power? becauſe the wiſdom, the prudence, the temper, the humanity, the goodneſs of the Chief Governor prevent it; but can I forget that we live under ſuch law; can I forget that the parliament, while it contended againſt the ademption of its rights, voluntarily relinquiſhed them all, or that to-morrow a hot or imprudent or weak ſucceſſor might make us feel this unbounded power in its exceſs?

The other, which I call the Fitzgerald bill, made for a particular inſtance, has, as it was thought it would, ſcreened the greateſt outrage upon private innocence that ever was known: give me leave to ſay to my certain knowledge no meaſure ever ſo much promoted the Union, nor made ſo many converts among the diſpaſſionate viewers of our conduct in England; and of that country permit me to ſay, the abuſe upon this occaſion neither tends to peace, nor is true—for I have found in it, and ſo I ſaid a year ago to my conſtituents, more coolneſs, more kind diſpoſition to Ireland, than among the ſons of Ireland; and to repreſent it as always hoſtile to us evidently tends to ſeparation.

Let me know before I reject Union what is to follow: is it the old ſyſtem? is it the colonial ſyſtem? are we to ſee the Chief Governor with all his might holding in the reins of government to prevent abſurd fury from plunging it again in ſcenes of blood and horror,

horror, which I do verily and in my conſcience believe it would be at this moment, were it not for his prudence, wiſdom and temper? On the other hand, let me wait to hear what are the terms of the Union; is the church of Ireland ſufficiently protected? that being done, are all ſafe privileges given to all other his Majeſty's ſubjects? if the city of Dublin is injured, are any meaſures taken to make it compenſation? if the poor and peaſantry of Ireland are to be injured by increaſe of abſentees, is any additional proviſion made for them? let me hear all this, and then determine, but not determine madly and unhearing: doth the contrary conduct favour of private views or public affections? for my part, I will uſe my judgment coolly, regardleſs of abuſe, if I juſtify myſelf to rational and diſpaſſionate men.

If I have been guilty of any crime or any folly, it has been that of not following throughout my original ſentiments, (which were in favour of an Union, as I could ſhew by appeal to the firſt and pureſt men in the nation, ever ſince the rebellion broke out) and in ſuffering falſe complaiſance to an ungrateful portion of my conſtituents, and fooliſh hopes of a renovation in the parliament, to give me in the laſt ſeſſion an appearance and in ſome meaſure the reality of holding for the time a different ſentiment.

*The following is the Subſtance of Doctor Browne's Speech in the Houſe of Commons on Tueſday the 18th of February* 1800.

Doctor *Browne*, (College.) Said that he perſiſted in opinion that Parliament ſhould go through the conſideration of all the propoſitions, though, until they came out of the mint and it was ſeen how they might be modified by parliament, it was impoſſible for any man to ſay whether he would ultimately approve the maſs; but in this his mind was now ſettled, that under the exiſting circumſtances, Union, if upon good terms, was deſirable as a refuge from ruin, and therefore he muſt wiſh and hope that the terms ſhould come out ſuch as might be advantageous and acceptable to the nation. He never had diſguiſed the great foundation of his opinion, however unpolite or unpalatable it might be; it reſted on long obſervation of the ſtate of the country, and of the ſtate of parliament, and particularly of what happened in the laſt ſeſſion.

I have, continued he, ever ſince I ſat in this houſe condemned the ſyſtem of parliament; I ſaid

it muſt end in its extinction. I did, when the rebellion broke out, though I abhorred and ſhuddered at the atrocities of the rebels, think that many things were done in and after its ſuppreſſion more founded in reſentment and rage than in cool and ſound policy; but even ſuppoſing thoſe ſeverities neceſſary, I do not wiſh to ſee them repeated: it may be neceſſary to cut off an arm or a leg, but I do not wiſh to ſee the operation; and theſe two cauſes, the corruptions of parliament and the ſcenes of the rebellion, have given to my mind this bias to an Union.

When the preſent Chief Governor came over, and wiſhed to appeaſe thoſe evils, I naturally approved his meaſures, and I became warmly attached to his perſon; his candour, his goodneſs and his wiſdom attached me, and no other motive. I did then think that union was neceſſary, and I ſaid ſo to many reſpectable perſons who well remember it: when the meaſure actually came on, I thought the nation was taken unawares and had not proper time; I had doubts of the competency of parliament; I felt a temporary hope that experience would teach us the abſolute neceſſity of altering the ſyſtem of parliament, and departing from the ſyſtem of violence if we wiſhed to preſerve the parliament; and perhaps falſe complaiſance to a portion of my conſtituents had ſome effect in counteracting my real opinion; the parliament inſtantly afterwards returned to its old ſyſtems; violence and bills of violence were

were redoubled with multiplying force; moſt of the opponents of union were as ready to agree in them as any other men; an abſolute military government was eſtabliſhed, under which we ſtill live, though happily ſo adminiſtered that we do not feel it; every thing returned to its former ſtate, and I returned to my former opinion; in ſo doing I do not think I have been inconſiſtent; I do not differ in opinion from other gentlemen who have condemned the ſyſtems of parliament; we differ only in inference; they think it will be better, I am convinced it never will, and therefore act accordingly.

But as to the greater part of the gentlemen who oppoſe the Union, hear what their language is; we are in oppoſition only on this one meaſure; we do not oppoſe it to ſave the people from taxation: no, there is no quantity of taxation and contribution which they are not willing to give; is it to ſave the people from power? no, there is no power which they are not willing to part with, even the very whole power of the parliament and all its control to the executive; is it to ſave the people from the ſcourge? no, they are ready and will re-enact all the laws of the laſt ſeſſion in the preſent: aſk for a window tax, calculate it at what you pleaſe, let it produce five times as much, we have no objection; aſk for unlimited powers, you need not aſk for them, we would force them on you; do you complain of the parliament having the power of war and peace? we engage never to exert it; do you complain of its

having power to appoint a regent? we will disclaim it; all the properties of a free and independent parliament we will give up, but leave us the name: are these arguments to be addressed to the people of Ireland? what doth it all come to? leave to us our power and individual importance, let us recur to the old colonial method of governing or rather grinding the country, and we do not care what you do; when I saw and when I heard these things, is it wonderful that I did not find myself much attached to an opposition to Union upon such principles; no men have been more effective in bringing us to the necessity of union by mistaken and severe modes of government than these very gentlemen.

It has been said that I pass a libel on the parliament; I do not mean to do so; if I did, this should not be the place; I am not ambitious of being sent to prison, or of kneeling at your bar; but every one must laugh at the encomiums passed on the parliament out of doors, by those who for twenty years have been representing it as the great nuisance and grievance of the nation, and who now speak of it as the paragon of virtue, as the quintessence of excellence, as the paradise of disinterestedness; I know not what epithet of oriental hyperbole they would not bestow upon it; *timeo Danaos*; give me leave to suspect these praises; they want the parliament, not because they love it, but as a theatre for future machinations and dangerous designs.

But

But it is ſaid is the Engliſh Parliament better? I believe it is infinitely; but if it were not, what would that argument go to; it might go to the extinction of parliaments altogether. I cannot help it, ſaid the good Biſhop *Butler*, when arguing for the immortality of the ſoul he was told, why this will prove dogs and horſes to be immortal; I cannot help it, if the argument be a good one, it muſt ſtand: ſo I ſay if I were writing an Utopia, I would ſay if ever the time came that parliament ſerved as a ſtalking horſe under which to ſhoot the arrows of the executive, as a name under which the executive might do, what it would not dare to without its influenced ſanction, or as a circus in which to combat for the deſtruction of the conſtitution, I ſhould think the exiſtence of that parliament of little conſequence; this is not the caſe of the Engliſh Parliament; I do not preſume to ſay that it is of any other.

But would the Engliſh United Parliament be kinder to this country? no man ſeems to dare to anſwer the queſtion; I will anſwer it—I believe in my heart and ſoul it would—the reaſon is plain, becauſe it would not be actuated by thoſe paſſions, thoſe reſentments, that thirſt for revenge, that rooted memory of injuries which exiſts here. We have heard it this night lamented, that perſons who are ſaid to have been in rebellion were ſuffered to open their mouths; we hear it every day in converſation lamented that they are ſuffered to exiſt; what! was there

which endeavours to extricate you from it, you long to return to thoſe ſcourgings and whippings and burnings which firſt diſguſted me into the ſupport of Union, and like a Ruſſian wife ſeem to like thoſe beſt who beat you moſt, and ſurely you will find them among its opponents.

I think therefore in favouring an Union I am a friend to the people; but if they are of a contrary opinion, if they wiſh, as the King of Pruſſia ſaid of the people of Neufchatel, to be damned to all eternity, I cannot help it, and I ſhould be ſorry that they were forced or made by violence even to be happy; but let me firſt hear the voice of the nation: I hear the voice of violence, I hear the voice of party, I hear the voice of lawyers bawling becauſe their mart will be gone, and of politicians becauſe their perſonal importance will be leſſened, but I cannot hear the cool, ſober voice of the nation at large.

I muſt next advert to the inflammatory language heard in this place; men admit the competency of parliament, and yet ſay they will not obey it; they ſay parliament is wiſe and good, and yet the next moment they will not ſubmit to it! but, ſay they, it is influenced and packed; this is not very conſiſtent, but if this be ſo it ought to be reformed or to be extinguiſhed; ſay they, it is not free: there are different modes of affecting its freedom, it may be influenced by government or intimidated by mobs, ſeats may be filled

filled by adminiſtration or bought up by the purſe of a party; a man's freedom is not a little affected, if following his own ſentiments is to be followed by calumniating his character or knocking him on the head. And here give me leave to ſay, that the vile calumny, the monſtrous abuſe, the lying ſlander caſt upon every man who is friendly to an Union, is one reaſon which gives me a ſtrong bias to it; that cauſe is not good which requires ſuch ſupports.

Another thing which has been truly obſerved gives me a ſtrong bias to an union; it is that, however loyal men diſagree upon the ſubject, the diſaffected have no difference; it was ſaid they would be delighted with the meaſure as leading to ſeparation; I have not found it—on the contrary they are outrageous againſt it: muſt not I think that meaſure a guard againſt ſeparation which the friends of ſeparation ſo vehemently deteſt.

As to the propoſitions of Union themſelves in detail, there are ſome things which I diſlike, and many which I would wiſh to ſee modified; I wiſh the peers were not to be elected for life; I wiſh the boroughs were not to be bought, or if it muſt be ſo, that it had been a private tranſaction, and I even think it would have been wiſe in England to have done it with her own money, not to give pretence for diſcontent at the burthen in this country; I have ſome doubts whether our quota or proportion of taxation of two ſeven-

teenths may not be too much, and I am extremely anxious that ſomething very conſiderable indeed ſhould be done for the city of Dublin: I wiſh the city would point out itſelf what it thinks moſt for its advantage, and I think the parliament ſhould be moſt liberal and go great lengths indeed in making compenſation to it, if it is likely to ſuffer.

I have the honour of being deſcended from a long ſeries of clergymen of the church of England and muſt naturally be attached to it, but I do not ſee what miſchief could enſue, if after an Union the catholics were put on the ſame footing with any other diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed church; at preſent, if admitted into parliament, they might acquire too much weight in this iſolated kingdom, and danger might enſue, but then they would have exactly the proportionate weight in the whole empire which they ought to have, neither more nor leſs; they would have no pretext for complaint, but be exactly on a footing with all other his majeſty's ſubjects: why then is not this done? I verily believe becauſe an Iriſh parliament would not ſuffer it; in the United one it is open to be done: no, ſays one honourable gentleman, this excludes the catholics for ever; no, ſays another, my objection is that this doth not exclude them for ever. Theſe are contrary objections, but I think the latter aſſertion is evidently true, and therefore I hope and think that the United parliament will do that with ſafety which the Iriſh parliament always has refuſed to do as dangerous.

And

And now, Sir, with all theſe objections, give me leave to aſk, if Union be rejected what ſyſtem is to be purſued? I may object to parts of the propoſals, but I muſt wiſh on the whole that they ſhould be acceptable, becauſe otherwiſe what follows? ſays an honourable friend of mine, an Union muſt be followed by a completely military government, I hope not; but what will the rejection of Union be followed by? an infinitely more military government ſought for and approved by moſt of thoſe men who oppoſe the Union, by the re-enaction and continuation of all the ſevere laws of former years, by all the ancient ſeverity, by the old colonial ſyſtem, probably by a revival of all the horrors and diſtractions which we have not long ſince eſcaped.

As I fear this city may be injured, though not in the degree which wild imagination repreſents, I own the apprehenſion leaſt I ſhould by my vote injure one tradeſman or his family in the city of Dublin affects my mind more than all the declamations which could be made for years about the free and independent parliament which I never ſaw and never ſhall ſee, and about the pride of the nation oppoſed to its felicity: but are not the poor of Dublin as wretched now as they can be; I know much about them, I have felt much for them, and according to my ability have endeavoured to ſhew it; can an Union make them worſe? I hope not, I hope it may bring in that capital and thoſe manufactures which are wanted to make their condition better; at all events, how can they be worſe off than now without an Union; we

may talk of Union, but the ladies of Dublin might, by adopting a ſingle faſhion, by not flying to foreign manufactures, by wearing the really beautiful dreſſes of their own country, do more for the poor of Dublin in a year than an Union could effect againſt them in ten; there is one of our misfortunes, it is abſolutely wicked, and I never ſee the preſent dreſſes of the female ſex without melancholy and ſorrow.

One word more as to the catholics; I am a ſincere proteſtant, not like many, a merely political but a religious proteſtant, with opinions founded on reaſon, ſtudy and reflection; but I wiſh that every privilege ſhould be granted to the catholics conſiſtent with the ſafety of the eſtabliſhment, for to the eſtabliſhment alſo on much reflexion I am a ſteady friend.

Every body ſays we cannot go on as we have done, yet no new plan is propoſed by the oppoſers of Union; in fact they never could agree upon one: the major part are of opinion that Union is not neſary, that if they had been let alone they would have kept down the country with a ſtrong hand as had been done for one hundred years paſt, and that nothing was wanting but not to have ſtopt them in the career of whipping, ſcourging, ſhooting and burning, and refuſal of all amneſty, to bring matters to their old footing, they, therefore, will wiſh to return to their old meaſures; the reſt will be for redreſs of grievances, and the old queſtion of catholic emancipation will inſtantly be revived; in truth I think

I think it follows inevitably that we muſt incorporate with the catholics: to give them a liberty of getting into parliament while the boroughs continue as they are would be trifling and mockery; they therefore muſt wiſh for reform. Thus all the old queſtions will be revived, all the old diſtractions; and after three, or four, or ſix years of miſery, the whole property of the nation, or at leaſt the proteſtant part of it, will recur back to Union as the only reſource.

Such is the picture which I form to myſelf of future events in caſe this meaſure be rejected, and under theſe impreſſions, as I have ſaid, though I may diſapprove of parts of the detail, I muſt neceſſarily wiſh that the whole may be ſo modified as to meet the wiſhes of the nation and paſs into ſtability.

*The following is the Subſtance of Doctor Browne's Speech in the Houſe of Commons on Wedneſday the 21ſt of May* 1800.

Dr. *Browne* ſaid it was not his intention to have treſpaſſed upon the attention of the Houſe, but an honourable gentleman (Mr. Ball) had made ſome obſervations ſo perſonal to him that he could not avoid ſaying a few words. The honourable and learned gentleman had ſtated that he (Dr. Browne) before he ſupported the meaſure of Union had made a bargain with government; he begged leave flatly to deny the aſſertion; he ſincerely wiſhed that every thing that had paſſed between government and him was known to all the world, and he was ſure his character would not ſuffer, nor the motives which led him to ſupport this meaſure be queſtioned after ſuch a diſcloſure, which would do honour to both parties. The attack which the honourable gentleman had made upon him was of a nature more calculated to excite his laughter than any other ſenſation; ſometimes he was repreſented as being deſirous of being a biſhop, ſometimes a judge, and

ſometimes a provoſt; he confeſſed he never had any objection to the dignities which the gentleman ſo liberally conferred, if they were attainable with honour,† but he ſolemnly denied that he had made any thing like terms with government, or was actuated by any ſuch unworthy motive in the ſupport he gave to this meaſure. He believed he might without impropriety ſtate the only converſation he had with the noble lord previous to the introduction of this ſubject; the noble lord, with a proper reſpect to the members of that Houſe, enquired the ſentiments of every gentleman upon the important queſtion of the Union with England; upon that occaſion he did declare his ſentiments to the noble lord to be decidedly in favour of the meaſure; he confeſſed that afterwards, in compliance with the wiſhes of his conſtituents, he had fooliſhly oppoſed his own opinion by voting againſt the diſcuſſion of Union; he was not afraid to ſtate the whole of his conduct upon this ſubject to the Houſe and the world. The honourable and learned gentleman had alluded to the language which he held upon the propoſitions in the year 1785

† Doctor Browne never was the hypocrite to ſay that he rejected advancement if attainable with honour, nor the fool to think that a country gains by virtue always rejecting ſtation, to let vice take it; but he was always ready to forfeit any proſpects rather than do what he thought not right, and every one knows how much he has forfeited by that mode of thinking, and in what ſituation he might have been now, had he acted otherwiſe.

1785; he was ready to avow every word he had ſaid upon that occaſion; he did oppoſe them, becauſe he conſidered them as an attack upon the freedom of the Iriſh Legiſlature; but what ſimilarity was there between that meaſure and the preſent; nothing but a complete confuſion of ideas could lead any man to confound them together. He was willing to confeſs that he was no friend to Union in the abſtract, and that he was convinced if good councils had been adopted the meaſure would not have been neceſſary; but on the termination of the late rebellion he was convinced of the neceſſity of an Union. He knew the ſentiments he was delivering would not be pleaſing to either ſide of the Houſe, but he was at that time convinced that the extremities and violence to which ſome of the Orangemen went, together with the exceſſes of the rebels, endangered the exiſtence of the country; the name of Orangeman had been abuſed; in the true original ſenſe of the word he was proud to ſtate himſelf an Orangeman. When the queſtion was brought forward, he had, as he before ſtated, voted in compliance with the ſentiments of his conſtituents againſt the meaſure; but when he ſaw of what diſcordant materials the oppoſition was formed, when he ſaw that all its *new* aſſiſtants only oppoſed the Union becauſe they thought it would diminiſh their own power, he determined never to act with them again. Though he differed from many gentlemen

men in this country in his opinion upon this ſubject, he was happy to find that he agreed with perſons of the greateſt eminence in England, with whom he was always proud to concur in ſentiment—he alluded particularly to Earl Moira and Earl Fitz-william, who appeared to him to object not to the principle but to the time.

He begged now to take notice of an aſſertion made by the gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe, and which they had repeated ſo often that they really ſeemed to believe it themſelves, viz. that the people of this country were decidedly againſt the meaſure; he had never heard any other proof of this circumſtance than the aſſertion of the gentlemen themſelves; indeed, there was every reaſon to believe that the very reverſe was the fact, for if the country had been as decidedly hoſtile to the meaſure as it had been repreſented, it would not be ſo tranquil as it now is; was it not ſuppoſed that on the laſt circuit the country would have been worked up into a ſtate of agitation againſt the Union? and yet the moſt perfect tranquillity had prevailed. In the year 1780, when Ireland demanded a free trade, it was the voice of the whole people, and it was irreſiſtible;† in 1782, when ſhe demanded

† The papiſt then joined with the proteſtant. In 1798 the proteſtant in his fury againſt the papiſt forgot that no great good effect had ever been produced but by their joint exertions, and was blind enough not to ſee that he was carrying the Union.

demanded the repeal of the 6th Geo. 1ſt. it was alſo the voice of the whole people, and was conſequently irreſiſtible; and if the Union with England was as contrary to the ſentiments of the people as had been repreſented, no miniſter, whatever his power in parliament might be, could poſſibly carry it; if the people were not in favour of the Union, at leaſt they were indifferent to it.

The gentlemen on the other ſide were very fond of appealing to the people, and language was frequently uſed of the moſt inflammatory tendency. He remembered, when ſome time ago he oppoſed the meaſures of Lord Weſtmorland and Lord Camden,* ſome of the gentlemen now in oppoſition applied very ſtrong epithets to him, but by their conduct upon this occaſion they had ſhewn that it was only ſome kind of rebellions to which they were averſe.

Gentlemen profeſſed to appeal to the people; he would willingly appeal to any peaſant of common underſtanding upon this queſtion, and would aſk him what he moſt feared as the conſequence of an Union—an increaſe of his tythes, his rent, or his taxes?

* It is notorious that Mr. Browne always ſhewed in the ſtrongeſt manner the moſt active attachment to the king, the church and the conſtitution, though he blamed certain miniſterial meaſures Of this he received the ſtrongeſt acknowledgment from Lord Camden, though in oppoſition.

taxes? with reſpect to his tythes he would not be put in a worſe ſtate by a Union, and the late bill would place him even in a better ſituation. As to rent, perhaps he differed from many gentlemen upon this ſubject, but one of his ſtrongeſt reaſons for ſupporting this meaſure was that he thought it would have the effect of reducing the rents in Ireland, and this he thought would be of advantage to the country, becauſe at preſent the rents bore no proportion to the profits of the land; he was perſuaded that after an Union rent would decreaſe, becauſe hitherto land was the only commodity at market; but the encreaſe of manufactures and of capital would lower the revenue and encreaſe the value of the land. With regard to taxes, he ſhould be glad to know what tax the people of this country were ever ſaved from by the parliament except only the abſentee tax. He had but one obſervation more to make; gentlemen were much in the habit of wiſhing to make perſonal attacks upon him; he was not aſhamed to ſay that he feared God; if not the ſcriptures had told him that at the laſt day heaven would be aſhamed of him; he was not afraid to obſerve that from his peculiar ſituation, as ſenior fellow of a college, decorum made it particularly incumbent upon him not to ſeek for quarrels; nor was he forgetful that the knowledge that a duel might deprive him of 700l. a year made adventuring adverſaries particularly courageous in

ſeeking

ſeeking for ſo unequal a combat; he ſpoke boldly becauſe he felt he was no coward, and he believed every man felt it; but while at the ſame time he was conſcious that there were ſituations ariſing accidentally and involuntarily between gentlemen which are much to be lamented, and to real ſpirit difficult to be reſiſted; he was free to own, that if any man vented his cool blooded, intereſted, and premeditated malice upon him, and much more if he was the poor inſtrument of the malice of others, he would treat his impotent aſſault with ſilent contempt.

# APPENDIX.

To ARTHUR BROWNE, Eſq; one of the Repreſentatives, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

We, the underſigned Electors of Trinity College, Dublin, deeply regret that we are under the neceſſity of addreſſing you again on a ſubject on which we had hoped that you and we were ſufficiently explicit. With equal aſtoniſhment and grief we hear the ſtrongeſt reports that your parliamentary conduct this ſeſſion is likely to diſappoint all that expectation which we conceived ourſelves fully warranted to cheriſh, as well by your anſwer to our former addreſs, as by your public engagements at the general election, and your vote and declarations in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. Determined as we are to reject as long as poſſible the ſuſpicion that you are capable of acting in a manner ſo diſgraceful to your character, we yet are compelled by the prevalence

prevalence of thoſe rumours, thus to call on you to contradict them, and to evince by a decided and manly oppoſition to the meaſure of a Legiſlative Union with Great Britain, that you diſdain to take advantage of any verbal ambiguity, if any ſuch exiſts, in order to evade the performance of a plain and ſolemn promiſe.

[Signed by nine Fellows and thirty-ſix Scholars.]

*Jan.* 21*ſt* 1800.

The indecorum of this addreſs to a Senior Fellow ſpeaks for itſelf; its veracity may be judged of by the following documents.

*Dr. Browne's Anſwer to the foregoing Addreſs.*

GENTLEMEN,

Your addreſs depends entirely on aſſumptions in which I cannot acquieſce.—The firſt is of a plain and ſolemn promiſe and engagement at the laſt general election, *always* to oppoſe the meaſure of a Legiſlative Union with Great Britain: *This I muſt utterly deny;* I never heard it aſſerted till laſt Wedneſday, and then with the exception, *unleſs it were neceſſary to prevent an Union with France*, which many rational men now think it is. You put it without allowing that I made any exception at all. However, with or without the exception, I do deny the charge; at the time ſcarce any man even dreamt of the probability of ſuch an event; I am ſure I did not: but even ſo, my recollection and conviction is, that though *repeatedly* applied to, I refuſed abſolutely to bind myſelf on the ſubject, ſaying, that I could not foreſee all poſſible caſes, though I did not ſee the probable one in which I could approve of ſuch a meaſure; and in this recollection and conviction I have the ſatisfaction of being confirmed, not only by what I know of the conſtant habit and determination of my mind not to bind myſelf, but by the concurrent recollection and conviction of ſome of the principal perſons in the College, and alſo of two Barriſters of the higheſt eminence, of the moſt unimpeachable credit, and who of all men are the moſt perfectly unconnected with parties or politics*;

 the

* Mr. French and Mr. Mayne.

the names of theſe gentlemen I have privately communicated to you in the envelope of this anſwer, and am ready to communicate to any man. The ſame is confirmed by many other perſons.

The ſecond aſſumption is of declarations in parliament binding me in the ſame manner: they ſhould have been ſtated, for I am ignorant of them; but of this I am poſitive, that ſo different was the impreſſion on my mind, that on the third night of the ſeſſion, when an attempt was made to ſtifle the queſtion for ever, I ſtarted up, called out to the chair, though not heard in the confuſion, and ſaid that I never would vote for ſuch a reſolution; and as I had refuſed to bind myſelf in perpetuum out of parliament, ſo I would in it. This I am ſure muſt be recollected by two gentlemen of high character, who endeavoured to diſſuade me from doing ſo, and whoſe names I have alſo communicated to you, and am ready to mention to any man.*

Another implied aſſumption ſeems to be that you ſpeak the univerſal ſenſe of the College; yet you know as well as I do that there is a number of Fellows, nearly, if not entirely, equal to that which has ſigned the addreſs, and among thoſe almoſt all the Senior Fellows, whoſe ſentiments are favourable to an Union—and who ſo expreſs themſelves in private!

The only poſſible ground upon which I can admit that there is any pretence even for ſupporting the opinion

* Sir Laurence Parſons and Mr. Hardy.

opinion you maintain is, my anſwer of the laſt year, and that you do not appear to have much reſted upon; that anſwer muſt ſpeak for itſelf.—During the rebellion my mind had been ſtrongly inclined to an Union, and ſo I ſaid to many perſons, not as a deſirable thing in itſelf, but as a releaſe from miſery.—At the time of giving that anſwer I ſpoke what my ſentiments then were, or perhaps went a little further in conſequence of your addreſs; that anſwer I always conceived as relating to the then preſent time, and long heſitated whether I ſhould not more particularly expreſs this, which I think is evident from its whole tenor.—I even foretold what would be the caſe if the meaſures of parliament were not altered.—To ſuppoſe that my then opinion was not to be affected by any future meaſures or changes in the ſtate of the country, is ſuppoſing impoſſibility; in fact ſubſequent meaſures have had a violent effect upon my mind: and give me leave to ſay, as to the firſt part of that anſwer, that I then thought my conſtituents much more unanimous in your ſentiments than I have ſince found them to be.

To attend to the wiſhes of all my conſtituents muſt be deſirable; to do this, where there is a diverſity of ſentiment, and the majority of Senior Fellows differ in opinion from the majority of Junior, which I poſitively aſſert, from their own declarations, they now do, is impracticable; but leaſt of all am I concerned about the wiſhes of thoſe of the

Fellows, who, for what reaſon I know not, have, in my opinion, for no inconſiderable time paſt been hoſtile to me, and taken every ſtep to remove me from my ſeat in parliament, before they alleged even any pretext for doing ſo: and in this number I am forced to ſay, I believe, are included not leſs than ſeven of thoſe who have addreſſed me, at the head of which addreſſers I ſee the name of my principal opponent at the laſt election.

I highly reſpect the generous and warm feelings of the young men who are my conſtituents in College; I have had my experience of them: but it is remarkable that I ſee in the number of ſignatures, I think, but ſeven of thoſe who were my conſtituents at the general election, and very few indeed of my old friends in the number, which is no ſmall ſatisfaction to me: and it is odd, that the others, ſome of whom muſt juſt then have entered the College, and moſt of whom I do not know, ſhould be ſo accurate in their recollection. Allowing for any poſſible bias to their Tutors, I am ſure their feelings are ſincere, and they think they are right, whether they are ſo or not: but the aſſertion in a great meaſure comes either from my foes or from thoſe who can probably know nothing about it.

I do not mean in the ſmalleſt degree to judge of the conduct of my colleague: I conſider him as much at liberty as myſelf, and am ſure he has and will

will do whatever he thinks right; but if my recollection doth not fail me, on the third day of laſt ſeſſion,* when the motion was for leaving out of the addreſs the clauſe which promiſed to take into conſideration his Majeſty's Meſſage as to the Union, he voted for retaining it, that is, for conſidering the meſſage, and on the firſt day of this ſeſſion was abſent from the Houſe; yet neither of theſe circumſtances ſeem to have awoke that attention which has been ſo ſharply alive to my conduct.

I have only voted for conſidering his Majeſty's Meſſage; I have not declared for a Legiſlative Union. I will uſe my free judgment on the ſubject; to ſay any thing further would be admitting your poſitions—giving room for further altercation, or doing that which, in my opinion, I have always refuſed to do.

I beg pardon for the length of this anſwer, which was unavoidable: it was impoſſible to ſubmit to ſuch charges, and I am obliged ſtrenuouſly to contradict them. I ſhall not follow you in aſperity of language.

Your humble Servant,

A. BROWNE.

*Jan.* 22*d* 1800.

*Copy*

* The writer here was in ſubſtance right, though in error as to his recollection of the particular night and queſtion; he was ſorry however that he introduced his colleague's name, which was not neceſſary, and muſt be imputed to his acting on the ſpur of the moment.

*Copy of a Paper handed to Doctor Browne by Counſellor French of Kildare-ſtreet.*

HAVING had the honour and happineſs of being acquainted with the late moſt reſpectable Provoſt, Doctor Murray, he applied to me to be his aſſiſtant counſel at the late election for members for the Univerſity, which I declined, as I thought it would be inconſiſtent with the line in my profeſſion which I had adopted of doing buſineſs only in my chambers: however my eſteem for Doctor Murray was ſuch, that I thought it my duty to meet and conſult with the gentleman appointed by him as aſſiſtant counſel. Theſe motives excited in me a curioſity to attend the general election in the College, and on that occaſion I obſerved that the candidates were repeatedly and warmly preſſed by ſome of the electors to give an explicit declaration againſt an Union of this country with Great Britain. Though I cannot recollect the particular expreſſions of the gentlemen making ſuch requiſition, or of the anſwers of Doctor Browne on that occaſion, yet I am clear in opinion that he did not bind himſelf by any engagement either for or againſt ſuch a meaſure, and that he declared himſelf clearly that he would not engage himſelf, *as poſſibly circumſtances would oblige him, conſiſtent with his duty, to ſupport the meaſure*, though at that time he did not ſee the *probability* of ſuch circumſtances occurring: this is the concluſion I have drawn from what occurred in my hearing

hearing at the election, and I believe I am not mistaken in this concluſion, for the ſentiments expreſſed on that occaſion by Doctor Browne made an impreſſion on me, and appeared to me then, as they do now, to be ſuch as a *wiſe, conſcientious and honeſt repreſentative ſhould adopt.*

ROBERT FRENCH.*

* To gentlemen in Ireland there is no occaſion to ſtate who Mr. French is; to thoſe of another kingdom it may be neceſſary to mention that his teſtimony is particularly brought forward, becauſe it weighs in this country, as much as that of any individual whatever; of long and great reputation at the bar, of fair and unſullied fame, of the pureſt moral character, remarkably unconnected through his life with politicks and party, he perhaps is the moſt unexceptionable witneſs that could poſſibly be adduced; his leave to give this letter to the world, was conveyed in a note in which he gave his free permiſſion to make any uſe of the letter, as he conſidered it but as that juſtice which he would do to the moſt perfect ſtranger; his teſtimony was confirmed by Mr. Mayne, by the Biſhop of Clonfert, by the Vice Provoſt of the College, by Mr. Barker, Curate of St. George's, and many other moſt reſpectable by-ſtanders: hence may be eſtimated the veracity of the other charges.

SIR,

Underſtanding that you have received a letter from a gentleman who was preſent at your Election as a repreſentative of this Univerſity, ſtating the impreſſion on his mind concerning the engagements you entered into to oppoſe a Legiſlative Union with Great Britain, I beg leave in this way to inform you of ſome facts, which I am ready to verify by affidavit, and of which certainly I am the moſt competent witneſs, as being immediately concerned in them.

When *Doctor Stokes and I** firſt called on the candidates to pledge themſelves againſt the meaſure of an Union, there was much talk on their part, by which they appeared to aim at avoiding any ſpecific engagement, putting (hypothetically) caſes which they conceived might occur and render the meaſure eligible as a ſmaller evil; with all this *Dr. Stokes and I* avowed ourſelves not ſatisfied, and declared our determination to leave the hall without voting, unleſs ſome of the candidates took a more explicit teſt; but our late reſpected Provoſt appearing much chagrined by the diſcuſſion of the queſtion, we agreed to wave the ſubject 'till Dr. Stokes ſhould



* It appears then throughout, that Dr. Stokes and he were the only perſons who troubled themſelves about the matter; but what is implied in the addreſs of the conſtituents? ſurely that the candidates were called on by the whole body of the electors. Is this fair, candid, or true! the truth is that at the time nobody elſe concerned themſelves about the whims of Dr. Stokes and Mr. Walker.

be called on for his vote, and then bring the matter to a ſhort iſſue by propoſing to the candidates expreſs terms, which if they declined to uſe we would not vote.

Accordingly, while the returning officer was taking the votes of others, I wrote down the following words:

"I declare that there are no circumſtances "*which I can foreſee** in which I will not to the "utmoſt of my power oppoſe a Legiſlative Union "with Great Britain."

That this was the purport I am ready to ſwear, though I may not be accurate in each ſyllable, as you retained the paper.†

This written teſt I put into your hand about the time that Dr. Stokes was called on for his vote, expreſſing a hope that you would have no objection to uſe it; upon which (after looking at the paper) you ſtood up and repeated either the ſame words or words to the ſame effect, and each of the other candidates ſtanding up ſaid that he declared the ſame; then without farther talk upon the ſubject Dr. Stokes and I voted for you.

That the circumſtance of a written teſt having been given, ſhould be unknown to many who were preſent,

* Was the fury of the rebels, or the violence of the orangemen, or the late rebellion and diſtractions then foreſeen?

† A ſingular teſt, retained by the ſuppoſed covenanter.

preſent, I do not wonder, on account of the manner in which I put it into your hands. Whether I ſucceeded in framing it with ſufficient preciſion, it is not for me to ſay, I can only teſtify my deſign, and I am glad to find that the other candidates conceive themſelves to have been deciſively pledged.*

I have troubled you with this plain and brief ſtatement of facts, as I find that you have received communications on the ſubject from others who certainly are not ſo well qualified to give information, and becauſe I muſt conſider you rather as deſirous of receiving aid to your recollection than as ſeeking any corroboration of your aſſertions.

You are welcome, Sir, to make any uſe of this letter you pleaſe.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

J. WALKER.

* How does this appear?

SIR,

I received your letter, and though I have no recollection of the matters by you mentioned, and do not admit them, yet I think if admitted they confirm my ſtatements. It appears by your own ſhewing that no perſons intereſted themſelves in the matter but you and Dr, Stokes, and that the writing by you alleged bears no manner of ſimilitude to the engagement which I was charged as having entered into, and ſeems to me not eſſentially to differ from what in my anſwer to your late addreſs I ſtated myſelf to have ſaid at the election; how you conceived it is another matter, but I am ſure I had no idea of conceiving it myſelf as you ſay you did, nor the leaſt idea that you or any perſon would ſo conceive it, nor do I ſee any reaſon or ground for ſo doing.

Your humble Servant,

A. BROWNE.